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THE ELEMENTS OF *COMMERCE, POLITICS* AND *FINANCES,*

In Three Treatiſes on thoſe important Subjects.

DESIGNED AS A

SUPPLEMENT TO THE EDUCATION OF *BRITISH YOUTH,*

after they quit the public Univerſities or private Academies.

BY THOMAS MORTIMER, ESQ.

Cum celeritate temporis, utendi velocitate certandum eſt. *Seneca de Brev. Vitæ.*

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INTRODUCTION.

THE preſent and future grandeur, fame, riches, and happineſs of Great Britain, depend ſo entirely on the ingenuity, induſtry, and commercial ſpirit of its inhabitants, and on the wiſdom of its legiſlature, that no ſtudy ſeems more important than that which tends to convey proper ideas of thoſe moſt eſſential ſubjects, COMMERCE, POLITICS, and FINANCES; eſpecially for thoſe, who, by their rank, fortune, or connections in life, may hereafter be called upon to direct and improve, or to patronize and reward the exertions of genius and honeſt labour in their fellow-citizens; either by repreſenting them in parliament, or by taking a part in the adminiſtration of government, as miniſters, or magiſtrates. But ſo many qualifications are requiſite to form the character of a complete Britiſh member of parliament, or ſtateſman; and the life of man is ſo ſhort, that it is totally impoſſible to devote any very

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conſiderable portion of time to the inveſtigation of every art and ſcience; or even to read, with attention, amidſt a variety of other avocations, all the voluminous productions of the preſs on thoſe intereſting ſubjects, which are the objects of this work.

A NECESSITY therefore ariſes of reducing thoſe arts and ſciences, the knowledge of which are likely to be moſt intimately connected with our ſtations in life, to certain conciſe elementary principles. This has been recommended by the ableſt writers, and it has been effected with ſucceſs in theology, hiſtory, law, phyſic, philoſophy, and the mathematics, proving of ſingular utility to the ſtudents in each profeſſion.

ON this foundation, and animated by this encouragement, the Editor of THE ELEMENTS OF COMMERCE, POLITICS, AND FINANCES, ventured to purſue the ſame plan; and having diligently collated, and accurately ſelected, from the beſt writers of every nation, the fundamental principles of the three ſubjects juſt recited, he had the honour to attend ſeveral of the young nobility and gentry of this kingdom, in the capacity of private tutor; inculcating, in the form of private lectures, a theoretical and practical knowledge of commerce, politics, and finances. A few years attention to this pleaſing taſk naturally brought with

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it new improvements, drawn from obſervations on the practicable part of commerce; on the political ſtate of Europe in general; and on the extenſion of public credit, and of the funded ſyſtem in England and France during the late war; at the cloſe of which, the Editor being appointed to an honourable ſtation abroad *, had a favourable opportunity, in the courſe of five years reſidence, to collect and add to his plan, ſome modern improvements in the commercial and political departments, and alſo reſpecting the adminiſtration of the public revenues of different ſtates on the continent.

On his return to England he again reſumed the office of private preceptor on the ſame ſubjects, which profeſſion he ſtill continues; but obſerving, that the intereſting ſtate of public affairs, and the multitude of faſhionable amuſements, engroſſed ſo much time in the polite world, that the requiſite hours could very rarely be allotted for a regular courſe of ſtudy, he determined to reviſe and correct his manuſcript, and to throw it into ſuch a form, that from the preſs, it might find its way to the library, and prove an uſeful guide, to be conſulted at leiſure, by all thoſe perſons, who are, or may be hereafter, directly or indirectly, concerned in commercial, political, or revenue

* Britiſh Vice-conſul for the Auſtrian Netherlands.

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affairs. But the execution of this deſign was retarded for ſome time, owing to the perſuaſions of a great number of the Editor's friends, who wiſhed to have a ſummary of a work, which they thought generally uſeful, delivered in public lectures. In compliance with their better judgment, abſtracts from the three treatiſes were accordingly read in different parts of London and Weſtminſter, to very polite and crouded audiences, by whom they were received with tokens of entire approbation.

In ſupport of the utility of the deſign, it may not be improper to point out the want of a work of this kind, from the complaints that have been long ſince made in print, of the very limited, inadequate ideas of each ſubject, diſcernable in thoſe whoſe high ſtations in ſociety require the moſt perfect knowledge of them all. And, firſt, with reſpect to commerce.

The beſt writers on the maritime power and commerce of this country, concur with me in maintaining, that there is a manifeſt defect in the education of Britiſh youth of high rank and fortune, and of the ſons of our opulent citizens, by neglecting to inſtruct them in this very important branch of knowledge, the commercial art. One, in particular, of great repute*, has gone ſo far as to

* Vid. Preface to Gee on Trade and Navigation, p. 13.

aſſert,

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aſſert, "That though we are very happy in the conſtitu-
"tion of our legiſlature, yet it is to be feared our parlia-
"ments have ſometimes been miſled, when matters rela-
"tive to trade have been brought under their conſidera-
"tion." He might have added, groſsly impoſed on by intereſted merchants and traders; which has been the occaſion of ſuch frequent amendments and repeals of acts of parliament reſpecting commerce.

Nor is this to be wondered at, when we conſider the number of nobles, gentlemen, officers of the army and navy, lawyers, and ſpiritual lords, in parliament, whoſe education has been totally foreign from all enquiry into the means of improving arts, manufactures, and commerce; yet the education of a Britiſh ſenator ought to be ſo general as to include a competent knowledge of every ſubject that can poſſibly be brought into parliament. But above all, young gentlemen ſhould not be permitted to make the tour of Europe, till they have acquired clear ideas of the firſt principles of COMMERCE, POLITICS, and FINANCES. Were this rule ſtrictly followed, their obſervations, in the courſe of their travels, would prove highly beneficial to themſelves and to their native country; for, inſtead of returning with the moſt ample accounts of cabinets of curioſities, of the rarities, of the dreſs, intrigues,

and

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and amuſements of the different nations of Europe, they would make themſelves acquainted with their commercial and political maxims; they would notice their inventions and improvements in the uſeful arts, and the various modes of raiſing, collecting, and managing their public revenues.

THE errors of parliament may be rectified by amendments, or repeals of acts detrimental to commerce; but the effect of ignorance in commercial affairs becomes more fatal, when it gets poſſeſſion of the adminiſtration of government in maritime and commercial ſtates. The hiſtory of England furniſhes too many inſtances of the imbecility of entire adminiſtrations in this reſpect; the very department peculiarly charged with the inſpection and care of commercial affairs, having often been filled by gentlemen, who could not lay claim to the leaſt mercantile knowledge. When this has been the caſe, and that (unhappily) the ſuperior offices of ſtate were likewiſe occupied by men equally deficient in this point, foreign powers have ſeldom failed to avail themſelves of ſuch junctures, to ſeduce our artificers, artiſts, and manufacturers; to violate treaties of commerce, by laying heavy duties and prohibitions on our merchandize entering their reſpective countries, contrary to expreſs ſtipulations; and, by various other

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other means, to annoy and diſturb our merchants. But, when our Board of Trade and Plantations, which ſhould be ſtiled *the Council of Commerce*, has been compoſed of men verſed in the commercial art, and capable of communicating all due information to the ſuperior officers of ſtate, Great Britain has ever roſe ſuperior to all other maritime powers, and has extended her commerce and national credit to the remoteſt parts of the globe.

In a word, ſo great is the advantage ariſing, not only to the community, but to every individual, from an early attainment of commercial knowledge, that there have been but few, if any, who were tolerably verſed in it, who have not either improved their eſtates and fortunes, by entering into commercial connections; or raiſed themſelves to honourable and important offices in the ſtate. I mean this of gentlemen, whoſe rank, ſituation, and patrimony, would perhaps have entitled them to ſtep forth into public life, even without this knowledge; but who, with this addition, have been able to command reſpect and veneration from their fellow-citizens, and to immortalize their fame, through the ſignal ſervices they have rendered their country (in the moſt perilous times) by a glorious adminiſtration of the public affairs of the ſtate.

That

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THAT an early ſtudy of the true principles of political wiſdom is eſſentially neceſſary in a country which boaſts ſo excellent a conſtitution, will ſcarcely be denied; nor yet, that we have been ſhamefully negligent on this head: indeed every man's daily obſervation muſt convince him, that the ſubjects of Great Britain would have been more happy, and the adminiſtration of government much eaſier of late years, if a falſe definition of politics had not ſo generally prevailed, which has been wholly owing to the want of inſtilling right ideas of this important ſcience into the minds of youth, whereby they would be prepared to reſiſt the bad impreſſions which crafty, deſigning men now readily make on their minds, reſpecting the views and conduct of the government they live under. If, from being unprincipled, we take up every vague opinion, embrace it for a time, and then exchange it as readily, when intereſt or ambition ſuggeſts a convenient variation, it cannot be wondered at, for no care has been taken to inculcate that veneration for the firſt principles of civil ſociety, which would animate us to a love of our country, and fire us with emulation, in the cauſe of civil and religious liberty, and in the ſupport of the dignity and authority of an upright government founded on theſe principles.

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THE picture of the preſent times is exhibited in a moſt maſterly manner, by the late celebrated Biſhop of Cloyne, on the ſtrength of whoſe authority, the Editor thinks the utility of this part of his plan fully eſtabliſhed. "The "pretenſions and diſcourſes of men, throughout theſe "kingdoms, would, at firſt view, lead one to think that "the inhabitants were all politicians; and yet, perhaps, "political wiſdom hath, in no age or country, been "more talked of, or leſs underſtood. Licence is taken "for the end of government, and popular humour for its "origin. No reverence for the laws, no attachment to "the conſtitution, little attention to matters of conſe- "quence, and great altercations about trifles." The ſure method of remedying theſe grievances is, to make the ſcience of politics a branch of Britiſh education, as youth advance to years of maturity. But as we have no public ſchools for this valuable purpoſe, the Editor flatters himſelf that his Elements of Politics, and his private inſtructions to his Pupils, may ſupply the want of them, at leaſt till the ſtate ſhall think proper to make the care of the education of thoſe, who are likely to become its legiſlators and governors, a matter of public concern.

THE great increaſe and extent of the commercial connections of Great Britain, ariſing from the augmentation

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of her maritime power, from new territorial acquiſitions, and from the flouriſhing ſtate of her coloniés, having totally changed the face of affairs in this kingdom, in the courſe of the preſent century, and evidently given to the monied intereſt, great weight and influence in the ſtate; the ſtudy of every branch of the public revenues, and of the public funds, which are the grand bulwark of the power and influence of the monied men, becomes a neceſſary part of education, and ſhould have had its riſe with the origin of theſe funds; but though they have annually increaſed, with aſtoniſhing rapidity, from the Revolution to the preſent time, yet the generality of thoſe, whoſe ſituation in life may afford them reaſonable expectations of being choſen directors of thoſe funds, repreſentatives of the people in parliament, or ſervants of the crown in the revenue department, are often quite uninformed, and unſkilled in matters of this nature; and it is maintained by ſome writers of great eminence, "that ſucceſſive parliaments have been held ſince that memorable æra, in which very few of the members have had any tolerable idea of public credit, as it ſtands ſupported, or becomes endangered by the increaſe of the national debt."

The ſame method is purſued with reſpect to this ſubject as the two former: the origin of the public revenues of nations

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nations is traced; the various reſources of the moſt ancient empires are pointed out; their methods of amaſſing treaſures, or of raiſing money as a proviſion for war, and other extraordinary demands on the ſtate, are made known; and the principles on which all their revenue tranſactions were founded, are carefully preſerved. The records of modern times furniſhing new elements of finance principles, theſe are deduced from the hiſtory of the revenues of the maritime ſtates of Europe; and every ſource of revenue, which has been found practicable and productive, is laid open. Laſtly, the whole fabric of public credit, on which the national debt of this kingdom is founded, is critically examined, and traced to its origin; and the principles on which it now flouriſhes, (to the equal aſtoniſhment and admiration of the whole world,) with the means of preventing its decline, are clearly ſtated; ſo that the Student may be enabled to decide with preciſion, on every plan that ſhall be propoſed for improving the public revenues, or for diminiſhing or augmenting the national debt, as the exigencies of ſtate may require.

HAVING thus given the outlines of his plan, and pointed out the neceſſity, utility, and advantages of acquiring a competent knowledge of commerce, politics, and finances, the Editor has only to add, that he hopes the execution will

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will be found equal to the deſign; and that he may be permitted (being a candidate for general approbation) to plead the merit of having fixed the attention of his countrymen to ſtudies of the utmoſt conſequence to the welfare of Great Britain, and facilitated the means of purſuing them, by a diligent, faithful extraction of the ESSENCE of every work of reputation that could afford him the leaſt aſſiſtance in completing his own; which, he flatters himſelf, may be ſubſtituted in the place of moſt of them, and be conſidered as a compendium of deſirable knowledge and profitable inſtruction.

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THE ELEMENTS OF *COMMERCE.*

PART I.

COMMERCE, in the general ſenſe of the word, means no more than a reciprocal communication, intercourſe, or correſpondence, between man and man; but, as a term of art, it conſtantly includes the idea of exchange, and, in its ordinary acceptation, it ſerves to diſtinguiſh the mercantile negotiations, carried on by the inhabitants of different nations with each other, from the operations of inland TRAFFIC, commonly known under the denomination of TRADE, and limited to a particular place or country.

THE vulgar acceptation being moſt generally underſtood, and free from that ambiguity in which we are too often involved by ſcholaſtic definitions, we ſhall adhere to it ſtrictly in this treatiſe on the Elements of Commerce.

OUR firſt enquiry will naturally be directed to the origin of internal traffic between man and man; which, as it gave birth to the very idea of it, may properly be ſtiled the *Parent of foreign Commerce.*

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CIVIL LIBERTY and TRAFFIC, being both of them derived from human neceſſities, are therefore reputed to have had one and the ſame origin, and to have grown up together: for no ſooner did men find the neceſſity of aſſociating, and of forming ſome ſort of civil government, for their ſafety and protection, againſt the violence of uncurbed paſſions, and the vicious diſpoſitions of individuals of their own ſpecies (while in the ſtate of nature) than they began to traffic, or trade with each other.

FROM the earlieſt accounts we have of mankind, a diſtinction of characters has been as evidently traced as the difference in the frame and bodily conſtitution of the human race. As ſome of theſe were ever found more robuſt and active than others, ſo were ſome minds found diſpoſed to ingenuity and induſtry, while others diſcovered a propenſity to indolence and idleneſs, the parents of miſchief. Hence aroſe the neceſſity of aſſociating, and of framing and ſubmitting to the laws of civil ſociety, under ſome mode of government, for the protection of life and liberty, and for the limiting and aſcertaining of property.

TILL this was done, as there could not be any fixed property, ſo neither was there any traffic; for, whatever the robuſt and active, the ingenious and induſtrious, had procured (over and above what was neceſſary for the demands of nature) the weak and imbecile, the indolent, the inactive, and the vicious, ſeized by violence, extorted by fraud and deceit, or obtained through pity and compaſſion.

BUT no ſooner was property limited and protected, and perſonal liberty ſecured from ſavage violence, by civil inſtitutions, than the ingenious and induſtrious began a reciprocal traffic. The huſbandman, who employed himſelf in cultivating land, had neither time nor capacity to invent or improve the inſtruments neceſſary for his uſe; nor had the artiſt, who furniſhed them to him, either ſkill or leiſure to ſow the ſeed, or plant the vegetable, that muſt produce food for his ſubſiſtence. A traffic between theſe, therefore, naturally aroſe; the plough-ſhare was exchanged for corn; one art was improved by another, as one artiſt was aſſiſted by the other. Their mutual neceſſities brought them together, produced a traffic between them, and (without entering

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entering into farther details) from hence we derive the origin of BARTER or EXCHANGE, which furniſhed the firſt idea of univerſal commerce, and which, to this hour, continues to be its firſt and chief elementary principle *.

IN proceſs of time, one ſociety of men, finding that the ſpot of earth they occupied produced, through their labour and induſtry, a ſuperfluity of the neceſſaries of life; and perceiving, that there were many things wanting, not merely for the continuance of their being or exiſtence, but for the eſtabliſhment of their well-being, they reſolved on endeavouring to procure theſe, by exchanging their ſuperfluous commodities for thoſe which they either wanted, or imagined they wanted, and either conceived or knew to be the produce of other countries, or the fruit of the induſtry and ingenuity of other ſocieties of men. Theſe ideas and perceptions gave birth to the art of NAVIGATION, whereby the enquiry was ſet on foot, what was the produce of different countries, and what the reciprocal wants of each ſociety; and, as people encreaſed, ſo did commerce, which cauſed many to go off from huſbandry to manufactures, and other ways of living; for convenience whereof they began communities. This was the origin of all towns; which being found neceſſary for trade, their inhabitants increaſed by expectation of profit. This introduced foreign trade, or traffic with neighbouring nations; and this, a deſire rather to ſettle on ſome navigable rivers, than in remote inland places, whereby they might be more eaſily ſupplied from the country with commodities fit to export, and to diſperſe thither thoſe they had imported from abroad.

HAVING thus marked the origin of commercial ideas, let us, for a moment, ſuſpend our enquiries, to make one important, awful remark, which ſeems to break in upon the mind like a ray of celeſtial intelligence, and thus inform it: Here, O man! without poring over volumes of

* "The firſt original of trade, both domeſtic and foreign, was barter; when one private perſon, having an overplus of ſuch things as his neighbour wanted, furniſhed him therewith, for their value in ſuch whereof the other had plenty, but he ſtood in need of the ſame."

Cary on Trade, page 3.

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theology, thou haſt an evident demonſtration of the exiſtence of a firſt intelligent cauſe, the ſupreme Creator and Diſpoſer of all things, the one, only univerſal DEITY; for what intelligence but the Supreme, who but the Deity, could inſpire the idea to the firſt ſociety of men who entertained it, that there were other ſpots of earth to explore, from which they were ſeparated by an abyſs of waters? or, even admitting their firſt intercourſe to have been with other ſocieties of men on the ſame continent, or tract of land, who but the Deity could bring them together, or inſpire them with different degrees of knowledge, ſkill, and induſtry, ſo that ſome ſhould cultivate the vine, and others grain; that ſome ſhould ſeek to defend their bodies from the inclemencies of the weather, by the ſkins of animals; that others ſhould fabricate their woolly fleeces, and a third the fibres of trees and plants for the ſame purpoſe? In a word, where the intercourſe between the inhabitants of a continent was not ſufficient to conſume the products of nature and induſtry, but there ſtill remained a ſurplus of various articles, what but the ſupreme Intelligence could convey the notion of rendering arts, manufactures, and barter or exchange, univerſal throughout the habitable globe, by means of navigation?

WE have found that BARTER is the firſt principle of Commerce, NAVIGATION the ſecond; let us now examine who are the firſt people on the records of time that rendered themſelves famous, and their ſociety flouriſhing, by reducing theſe two principles to practice.

HISTORY informs us*, that we owe the origin and firſt rudiments of navigation to the Egyptians and Phœnicians; all beyond this is involved in fable and obſcurity; nor is it neceſſary for us to trace the origin of commerce farther than to the firſt acknowledged commercial nation; let us note the meaſures they took to improve and extend navigation and commerce, which were born twins, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, and remain inſeparable to this hour.

THE EGYPTIANS were a warlike people, and governed by KINGS, who were all of them either heroes or legiſlators, whoſe ambition was to raiſe their monarchy to the higheſt degree of perfection; and to attain

* Strabo, lib. 6.

this

this end, they encouraged navigation, eſtabliſhed a maritime power, and extended their commerce, of which they had found the benefits, by conqueſts. They attentively examined ſuch things as were neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed; but, when they had once eſtabliſhed and judged them uſeful, they never changed them through caprice or inconſtancy. They alſo loved to indulge themſelves in their pleaſures, and were extremely fond of a variety of foreign novelties; but, in the gratification of their luxurious inclinations, they ever had an eye to their national intereſts, and made their very paſſions ſubſervient to their commercial tranſactions.

THUS, while ambition prompted them to ſubdue kingdoms, the chief uſe they made of their conqueſts was to make ſlaves of the inhabitants, whom they employed in all laborious works, while their own people indulged themſelves in a ſtate of luxury; the means for which commerce had ſupplied. This is the account their own and other hiſtorians give of this people *.

HERE, by the way, let us obſerve, that we have the origin of the SLAVE TRADE; an article of modern, as it was of ancient commerce, and is equally juſtifiable now as it was in the time of the Egyptians (if commerce itſelf be legal) which will hardly be denied.

THE principal commerce of the Egyptians was that of the Eaſt, by way of the Red Sea; and, it is to be remembered that this commerce was free and open to every inhabitant of Egypt. As Egypt was

* The ancient mythologiſts have made the Egyptian God Thoyth, who is the Grecian Mercury, to be the author of navigation and merchandiſe. They tell us that Oſiris, who is their Bacchus, attempted the conqueſt of India, as we learn ſince from hiſtory that Seſoſtris had done; becauſe that the Egyptians, about that time, drove a conſiderable trade with the Indians, and even brought them under their government. It was the ſame Bacchus, according to theſe writers, who firſt taught the art of buying and ſelling to mankind; that is, the art of trade. They give us, likewiſe, to underſtand what was the trade between the Egyptians and Greeks, by the voyage which Danaus made to Greece, believing him to be the firſt who made uſe of a galley, and that before his time they had no better invention than floats, which they pretend were uſed firſt in the Red Sea. But, be this as it will, theſe fables give us light enough to attribute to the Egyptians the invention of commerce and navigation. *Hiſtory of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, by Huet, biſhop of Auranches.*

interſected

interſected by an infinite number of canals, the communication between their great cities was rendered ſhort and eaſy; and they derived one great advantage from the ſituation of their cities, all of them ſtanding nearly on a level; by which, the tranſit of merchandiſe to the ports for exportation, and of foreign commodities from the ports to the inland provinces, was greatly facilitated; and rendered, on the whole, more ſecure and reaſonable than if they had been obliged to make uſe of land carriage; which (beſides) was, in thoſe days, attended with ſo much delay, that great loſſes were ſuſtained on periſhable commodities, in long journies from ſea-ports to inland towns.

In ſhort, there never was any nation who knew ſo well as the Egyptians how to make uſe of all the advantages and all the conveniencies that are to be derived from a great river. They cut canals in all parts; which, at the time of the inundation of the Nile, were ſufficiently ſupplied with water from that general ſource; and even thereby rendered uſeful for the tranſportation of merchandiſe and the neceſſaries of life. In thoſe countries which want this convenience, all the articles of home conſumption are exceſſively dear; and of this, France furniſhes a ſtanding proof; the plenty which that fertile country produces being rendered, in a great meaſure, abortive, owing to the badneſs of the roads and the delay and expence of land carriage. For inſtance, though their coaſts furniſh a variety and great abundance of fiſh, yet, before it arrives at the capitals of the inland Provinces, one half is ſpoiled, the remainder loſes its intrinſic value, being ſtale and unwholeſome, and the price after all is exorbitant.

That we may not have occaſion to enlarge on the ſame cauſes producing the ſame effects in modern times, and in countries with which we are familiarly acquainted, let it be remembered that the Chineſe, and, nearer home, the Dutch and the Flemings, derive the ſame advantages from their navigable canals and level ſituation; and at preſent, in many parts of England, navigable canals have been cut; ſeveral patriotic noblemen and gentlemen having given great encouragement to theſe uſeful communications between cities, manufacturing towns, and ſea-ports; but the face of the country muſt ever prevent a general

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a general introduction of navigable canals, from a want of that univerſal level which prevails in the Auſtrian Netherlands and the United Provinces.

THE monuments of the grandeur, riches, and luxury of Egypt, ariſing from their commerce and navigation, are ſo eaſily to be traced in the works of hiſtorians and travellers, that I need only recommend a peruſal of them for further ſatisfaction on that ſubject. But the commercial knowledge we derive from the Egyptians muſt be ranked among our elements of commerce. It conſiſts of two objects.

1. THE employment of ſlaves procured from other countries, by conqueſt or purchaſe, as neceſſary implements of commerce.

2. THE making navigable canals in countries where it is practicable, for the facility of tranſporting merchandiſe to and from ſea-ports, and for rendering the communication of inland counties eaſy, for the benefit of the inland trade, or home conſumption.

"IF the Chineſe are really deſcended from the Egyptians, as many "learned men of the greateſt repute have maintained, it muſt be "owned they are ſo far from falling ſhort of their anceſtors, that they "greatly ſurpaſs them. In effect, they have rendered their whole "country navigable and eaſy of acceſs, by canals of communication "from one river to another, and contriving theſe canals with ſuch "induſtry, that there is ſcarce a town, or even a village, which has "not the conveniency of water-carriage. We ſee, likewiſe, upon "theſe rivers, a prodigious number of people, active, frugal, taken "up entirely with the ſtudy of commerce, and who very rarely go "on ſhore; and, as all theſe people have nothing but boats of different "figures for their eſtates, it frequently happens that theſe boats unite, "and form a kind of hamlets; which the Chineſe range with ſuch "ſymmetry that they call them, with great propriety, water towns."

THE rapid progreſs of the Phœnicians, who formed a conſiderable maritime power, and undertook very long and dangerous voyages to improve their commerce, is ſtill more remarkable than that of the Egyptians; for they poſſeſſed only a narrow ſlip of the coaſt of Aſia, a ſituation highly diſadvantageous, in which they were blocked up in a great

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great meaſure by powerful neighbours on every ſide. Their firſt attention, under theſe circumſtances, was to make as many fortified ports, harbours, and creeks, as poſſible on their coaſt. This accompliſhed, they applied themſelves ſo indefatigably to every ſtudy bearing the leaſt relation to maritime or commercial affairs, that they acquired the reputation of being the inventors of arithmetic and aſtronomy, and of being the firſt people who reduced the commercial art into a fixed, regular, judicious ſyſtem.

THIS people merit alſo further commendation, for having undertaken long and dangerous voyages, without receiving aſſiſtance from the lights of others, or being encouraged by any examples: they even went as far as our coaſts of Cornwall to fetch tin. We can ſcarce conceive how great a regard the ancients had for ſuch bold and curious perſons as, by making frequent and diſtant voyages, and by their travels both by ſea and land, introduced the knowledge of a thouſand rare and uſeful inventions, by which they diſcovered, as it were, a new world.

FROM the Phœnicians (without entering deeper into their hiſtory) we derive two elementary principles of commerce, which we will ſet down in this place, becauſe we purpoſe noting every general principle, as it ariſes, and ſhall hereafter range them in their proper order, when we come to apply them to the preſent ſtate of commerce, as it is carried on by GREAT BRITAIN and her COLONIES.

1. COMMERCE muſt be ſupported by maritime power, or naval ſtrength.

2. IT will always thrive better in free governments, either limited monarchies or republics, than in deſpotic abſolute monarchies: therefore the Phœnicians made a more rapid progreſs in the arts and ſciences, and carried their commerce to a much greater heighth than the Egyptians; for the government of the Phœnicians was republican, and their cities and ports were free and open; by which means Tyre and Sidon, and ſeveral other of their free cities, roſe to a ſtate of unrivaled opulence.

THE Ethiopians, Perſians, and Arabs, at this period, were likewiſe concerned in commerce; but this need only be mentioned as matter of record,

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record, their ſmall conſequence not requiring further notice; but if curioſity ſhould prompt the induſtrious ſtudent to further reſearches on their account, he will find ample ſatisfaction in Huet's Hiſtory of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, chap. xi. xii. xiii. and xiv.

AFTER the deſtruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great, CARTHAGE became the chief ſeat of commerce; and the Carthaginians formed ſuch a ſtrong maritime force, that towards the end of the ſecond Punic war, Carthage reckoned within her walls no leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants. No leſs than three hundred cities of Africa were dependant on this republic; and they had planted conſiderable colonies in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; her navies, every where formidable, daily made new conqueſts; in ſhort, nothing could be more ſwift, or indeed more wonderful, than the riſe, progreſs, and perfection of her maritime ſtrength, nor of its uſual conſequences, luxury and indolence. Some aſſert, that they penetrated as far as America; but, leaving this to the deciſion of the ſpeculative antiquarian, let us only remark, that here ariſes another principle of commerce.

THE eſtabliſhment of COLONIES, for the improvement and extenſion of trade.

THE utility of navigation was too palpable and too ſtriking, in reſpect to people of any attention, long to eſcape the Greeks: a nation ſo induſtrious, and who knew ſo well how to appropriate to themſelves the inventions of others, could not fail of aiming at the dominion of the ſea. We know what a vaſt number of veſſels Greece, united and animated by her common deſire of vengeance, employed in the Trojan war; how powerful they then were by ſea and land; how jealous of their rights, and how unable to bear even the ſlighteſt injuries.

ONE may eaſily judge, ſo quick and enterpriſing as they were, they omitted nothing to preſerve a juſt ſuperiority on the ſea, a ſuperiority which ſo infinitely concerned them.

IN the age preceding the birth of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, Athens and Sparta were engaged in diſputing with each other the empire of the Egean and Ionian ſeas. Theſe two rivals, ſo different in

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their manners and cuſtoms (the one remarkable for politeneſs and luxury, the other diſtinguiſhed by the ſeverity of her diſcipline; the former more capable of inſpiring love, but the latter able to force admiration) at every turn had recourſe to arms. After reciprocal loſſes and advantages, Sparta took one hundred and fourſcore ſhips from her enemy, beſieged her in form, and forced her to ſurrender at diſcretion. Athens was humbled by this, but not abſolutely deſtroyed; ſhe, in her turn, repaid Sparta the ſame hard meaſure ſhe had received.

PHILIP, king of Macedon, diſtinguiſhing clearly all the views and all the projects of the Greeks, from the very beginning of his reign, made the utmoſt efforts to eſtabliſh a maritime force. The firſt pretence of which he availed himſelf for diſplaying a naval force, was, the ſuppreſſion of pirates, who were grown inſolent, through a long ſeries of ſucceſsful villanies, and of theſe he undertook to cleanſe the Egean and Ionian ſeas. But in a ſhort time he began to exerciſe himſelf that trade, as ſhameful as lucrative, as unworthy of a great prince as it was proper to fill his coffers; yet the flatterers, who followed his court, and ſtudied his motions, invented a thouſand reaſons to prove it for his honour.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, his ſucceſſor, to rival CARTHAGE, built the famous city of ALEXANDRIA in EGYPT, and opened the trade between the Indian and Mediterranean ſeas.

THE commerce of the Eaſt, or of the Eaſt Indies, appears to have been the chief object of all the voyages undertaken by the ancients. Arrian's Periplus of the Red Sea, and the remarks of Pliny, Solinus, and Philoſtratus, plainly prove, that theſe countries were well known and frequented; but the communication between them and Europe was not accompliſhed till the time of Alexander.

AFTER the demolition of Carthage, and the ruin of all Greece by the Romans, they became maſters of all Africa, and the greateſt part of Aſia; ſo that every thing gave way to the Roman power, and the city of Rome became the ſole miſtreſs of the profitable commerce to the Eaſt Indies; which proved the ſource of immenſe riches, and introduced into all the principal cities of Italy that refined luxury and original elegance,

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elegance, which rendered the Roman republic the ſtandard of taſte, and enabled her to carry her improvements to ſuch a degree of perfection, that all the productions of the polite and liberal arts (at this period of their flouriſhing ſtate) have been handed down, even to the preſent age, as maſter-pieces in their ſeveral kinds; and the precious remains of theſe antiquities are beheld with admiration by ſome, with a degree of enthuſiaſtic veneration by others, and are generally purchaſed and preſerved at an enormous expence.

We have only one melancholy remark to make on the well-known hiſtory of the power, wealth, and elegance of ancient Rome.

"That luxury, when it is carried to ſuch a pitch, as to introduce "effeminacy of manners, indolence, inactivity, and licentiouſneſs, "becomes the bane of commerce, and muſt (ſooner or later) prove "the deſtruction of any country whoſe welfare depends on trade and "navigation."

Valerius paterculus and tacitus, are authors proper to be conſulted for a more ample account of the effeminacy and depravity of manners which prevailed at Rome, after the demolition of Carthage, and of its effects on the commercial intereſts of that renowned ſtate.

We derive but one principle of commerce from the ancient Romans, which modern commercial ſtates have adopted, and carried to great perfection.

The insurance or assurance of ſhips and merchandiſe from loſſes at ſea.

This is traced up to the Emperor Claudius Cæſar. The Lex Oleron (the maritime code of France) treats of it ſo far back as the year 1194, as being then known and practiſed in Europe. We ſhall find it eſtabliſhed on a proper footing in England during the reign of Elizabeth.

The Goths and Vandals compleated what effeminacy had partly accompliſhed, the ruin of the Roman empire; and then the commerce carried on between the Indian and Mediterranean ſeas was thrown into another channel; for it ceaſed through the Red Sea, by way of Alexandria, and was now conducted by Trebezon, Damaſcus, and Aleppo, which gave riſe to the commerce carried on by the free ſtates of Italy;

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ſuch as Venice, Genoa, and Piſa; and the merchandiſe of the Eaſt Indies was conveyed by this new channel, not only to all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, but to England, to the Netherlands, to Germany, and even to the Baltic ſea.

THE ſituation of Bruges, in the Auſtrian Netherlands, rendered it at this time the emporium of all Europe. The commodities of the north, ſuch as, corn, naval ſtores, &c. were brought here in the ſummer ſeaſon, and bartered for the Aſiatic commodities which arrived from the LEVANT. Thus the ſhips that brought corn and naval ſtores from the north, were freighted home with the produce of Aſia, and the Levant ſhips returned with the ſupplies from the north. By this means the Hanſe Towns, and all the countries of the north, partook of the delicacies of the eaſtern world, in return for naval ſtores, and ſuch neceſſaries as are requiſite for India voyages.

BRUGES underwent the ſame fate as Tyre, Carthage, and Rome, with reſpect to the effects of opulence and luxury. The riches they acquired made the inhabitants idle, inattentive and negligent, till at length they totally deſpiſed that very commercial art, which had been the ſource of their opulence. They turned gentlemen, and became candidates for titles and poſts of honour under the Spaniſh monarchy, to which they were then ſubject; and this very great, and once flouriſhing city, is at this time half depopulated, and chiefly inhabited by a *petite nobleſſe* and the clergy. Some few factors ſtill remain, who carry on an inconſiderable commerce, through the port of Oſtend, with England, France, and Holland, for the conſumption of Brabant and Flanders; and they likewiſe export ſome articles to Spain: but the incredible quantity of magazines or warehouſes now empty, gives the curious Britiſh traveller an opportunity of ſeeing, very near home, a ſtriking monument of the ruin of one of the greateſt commercial cities in Europe, from cauſes, which will never fail to produce ſimilar effects, in every age and country.

ANTWERP (ſituated alſo in the Auſtrian Netherlands) was next diſcovered to be as convenient as Bruges, and the inhabitants to be more induſtrious and attentive in the execution of all commercial tranſactions.

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tions. To this port therefore, the commerce of Bruges was eaſily removed, and Antwerp, in its turn, became the moſt opulent city of Europe; when, by one fatal blow, all its ſplendor vaniſhed almoſt in an inſtant.

We have already remarked, that civil liberty and commerce are inſeparable, and flouriſh together. Their connection was deſtroyed at Antwerp by the perſecuting ſpirit of popery, carried to the higheſt degree of violence and cruelty by the Duke of Alva, the Spaniſh governor of the Netherlands under Philip the Second; the very monarch who made an inglorious attempt to introduce his horrid religious perſecutions into England, by means of his invincible armada. The manufacturers and merchants, who were of the reformed or Proteſtant religion, and even ſeveral Roman Catholics, who dreaded the inquiſition and its tortures (which D'Alva wanted to eſtabliſh throughout the Netherlands) fled from this perſecution to Amſterdam, and other cities of the United Provinces, which had juſt ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke. Others came over to England; and this memorable event may be ſaid not only to have laid the foundation of the flouriſhing republic of Holland, but of the maritime power, extenſive commerce, and opulence of England ſoon after this period, and of Great Britain at this hour.

Every favourable circumſtance contributed to this happy event. Spain was governed by a perſecuting bigotted tyrant, who permitted his miniſters to exerciſe every ſpecies of rapine and violence, for the ſake of the holy Roman catholic religion, and to gratify its tools of vengeance, the inquiſition. Amſterdam was ſubjected to a republican form of government, breathing a newly imbibed ſpirit of liberty, and inviting all ſtrangers to partake of this common bleſſing.

England was happy in having her ſceptre ſwayed by a princeſs of uncommon talents, zealous for the welfare of Europe, and a warm advocate for civil and religious liberty; and ſhe again had the happineſs of being aſſiſted by a ſet of counſellors and miniſters of conſummate abilities, and incorruptible fidelity. No wonder then, that this was the epocha for improving and extending the commerce of England and of Holland,

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Holland, and that Amſterdam and London ſhould riſe on the ruins of Bruges and Antwerp; the former having loſt itſelf by indolence, and the latter being depopulated by perſecution.

Our review of the origin of commerce may be cloſed here, with two additional principles, collected from the circumſtances attending the decline and total ruin of Bruges and Antwerp.

1. Indefatigable induſtry and attention are requiſite for carrying on inland trade and foreign commerce ſucceſsfully. By indolence and neglect the inhabitants of Bruges loſt both; for trade will not remain long in any place where it is received with coolneſs and indifference.

2. Toleration (in matters of religious faith) is equally neceſſary; for we have ſeen the effects of intolerance, in driving away artiſts, manufacturers, and merchants from Antwerp.

PART

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PART II.

THE chief deſign of tracing the origin of commerce to remoteſt times was, to draw from the boſom of antiquity ſome of the invariable principles of the commercial art, which have been preſerved and adopted by the moderns, and are at this very time the baſis of the extenſive foreign and domeſtic trade carried on by the maritime and commercial powers of Europe.

AT the cloſe of our deductions from antiquity, we left Europe in poſſeſſion of the very profitable trade to the Eaſt Indies, which had been the principal object of all the expeditions, long voyages, and adventures of the ANCIENTS, and had, at different periods, enriched and aggrandized EGYPT, PHOENICIA, CARTHAGE, and ROME. We found alſo, that the ſucceſs of the riſing commerce of Europe ſolely depended on civil and religious liberty; in conſequence of which, Venice, Amſterdam, and London, were juſt opening to our view a new ſcene of commercial enquiry; the firſt, as the grand mart for the produce of the eaſtern world; the ſecond, as the emporium of Europe; and the laſt, in an infant ſtate of commerce, politically reviewing the progreſs already made by the other two, adopting the maxims on which their ſucceſs was founded, and adding to theſe a variety of other principles, peculiar to the genius and conſtitution of England, and which the ingenuity, induſtry, and natural bravery of its inhabitants combined to render practicable.

FIRED with emulation, all England engaged in the attempt to vie with the neighbouring city of Amſterdam, and to form the baſis of a maritime and commercial power, that ſhould take in every branch of the commercial art known or practiſed throughout the habitable globe.

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In proceſs of time this glorious and ſtupendous plan (for ſo I may juſtly term it, conſidering the ſmall extent of the Britiſh iſles, their ſeparation from each other, diſunited intereſts, and various diſadvantages) has been accompliſhed, and ſo compleatly accompliſhed, that we have ſeen Great Britain, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of rival commercial powers, who have waged with her the moſt expenſive and bloody wars, in order to impede her progreſs, riſe ſuperior to every obſtacle, acquire and maintain the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and diſtinguiſh herſelf as the firſt maritime and commercial power of Europe. In a word, we ſee her enjoying at preſent a manifeſt ſuperiority in that moſt profitable branch of ancient commerce, the EAST INDIA trade; and, whether we conſider the enlargement of her territories, the ſtrength of her maritime power, the univerſality of her commerce, the extent of her public credit, the opulence of her chief cities, or the flouriſhing ſtate of arts and ſciences, we may venture to pronounce, that ſhe was at the ſummit of national glory, and of human grandeur, ſoon after the concluſion of the late peace.

SINCE that period, we have reaſon to think commerce has declined in various branches, and that theſe kingdoms are unhappily experiencing ſome of the fatal effects of that luxury, which breeds licentiouſneſs; and of that effeminacy and diſſoluteneſs of manners, which gradually brought on the deſtruction of the ancient commercial ſtates. In this ſituation of affairs, the ſubject before us is rendered more neceſſary and uſeful; as we ſhall point out in the purſuit of it, the ſeveral cauſes of the increaſe and decline of commerce in general, and of that of Great Britain in particular; ſo that when the ſymptoms of a decline are diſcovered, gentlemen, who are, or may one day be, the guardians of the commercial intereſts of our country, by obtaining early a thorough knowledge of the diſeaſe, will be enabled to apply the remedy in time.

OUR enquiry into the riſe and progreſs of the domeſtic trade and foreign commerce of England, and our inveſtigation of the ſeveral leading principles, the application of which to practice has produced the higheſt degree of commercial perfection in theſe kingdoms, muſt commence at that glorious period of the Engliſh hiſtory, when the ever memorable Elizabeth ſat upon the throne.

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THE admirers of, and adepts in, the hiſtoric antiquities of England, will perhaps aſk this queſtion, Why this epoch (of all others) is pitched upon as the propereſt to commence our examinations into the riſe of that extenſive commerce Great Britain at preſent enjoys? The reaſon is obvious. Before this memorable period, England made no figure in the commercial world worthy our notice.

THE navigation and trade of England was trifling before this æra, and continued in much the ſame ſituation, with little improvement, from the time of William the Conqueror to the acceſſion of ELIZABETH, except in one inſtance, which I ſhall not paſs over in ſilence.

THE foreign commerce conſiſted only in exportations of the natural produce of the country, unmanufactured; ſuch as tin, lead, wool, hides, iron, and fiſh, which were generally bartered for foreign manufactured commodities, particularly ſome fine woollen cloths, wrought ſilks, gold and ſilver brocades and embroideries, and cloths of gold, as they were then called. But the inland trade received a moſt conſiderable advantage as early as the reign of Edward III. which produced in proceſs of time one of the moſt conſiderable branches of foreign commerce. Before his time the manufacturing of wool into cloths was chiefly confined to the then Spaniſh Netherlands, now known by the names of *Auſtrian*, *French*, and *Dutch* FLANDERS; and the kings of England receiving ſubſidies from their ſubjects, for the maintenance of their civil government and regal ſtate, in wool, they were obliged to export it on their own account, and were thus neceſſitated to become merchants, as a means to raiſe and realize a revenue. On this account, they had their brokers or factors at Bruges, Ghent, Bruſſels, Lovain, and other cities of Flanders. The proprietors of land, and the farmers all over the kingdom, encouraging alſo the breeding of ſheep, and the growth and management of wool, from which great profits were derived, this branch of trade became ſo conſiderable, that it is ſtiled, by ſome authors, the commencement of the Engliſh commerce; nor is this to be wondered at, if it be conſidered that the Flemings took off their wool in prodigious quantities, and paid ſo high a price for it, that all people of property in England, who knew any thing of the na-

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ture of this trade and its profits, engaged in it. But in the parliament held at Weſtminſter A. D. 1338, the exportation of wool was prohibited, a new revenue was provided for the king, and, in order to invite and encourage foreign cloth-workers, and other manufacturers of wool, to come over, and ſettle in England, very great privileges were granted, and penſions from the crown were allowed them, till they ſhould be ſo far eſtabliſhed as to be able to obtain a decent ſubſiſtence by their ingenuity and induſtry. At the ſame time a prohibition was laid on foreign cloths, the king's ſubjects being forbid to wear them; but neither this prohibition, nor yet a ſumptuary law made in the 27th year of this reign, limiting and reſtraining the luxury of dreſs, particularly with reſpect to woollen cloths, could prevent the importation of foreign fine cloths; for, in the twenty-eighth year of this king, we find, by a record of the balance of trade, preſerved in the Exchequer, the following article, "1831 pieces of fine cloths imported, at £ 6 Sterling "per piece:" ſo that we muſt conclude, that the prohibition to import or wear foreign cloths was only a ſimple proclamation from the king, which was not duly obeyed; the act of parliament of 1338, going no farther than to prohibit the exportation of wool, for the encouragement of the manufactures at home.

In the reign of Henry VII. the importation of wrought ſilks and of ſtuffs fabricated with ſilk and thread mixed, was prohibited by act of parliament.

Edward III. then, and Henry VII. were the only princes in whoſe reigns any conſiderable attention was given to commercial affairs, and theſe regulations, as yet, produced only a limited advantage, viz. the eſtabliſhing of ſome manufacturers among us, which did not even for ſome time after provide a ſufficiency for home conſumption; nor could the very manufactures now under conſideration ever have been made to anſwer the purpoſes of univerſal commerce, if important contingent events, ſuch indeed as cannot poſſibly be included in the plans and ſyſtems of mankind, but which occaſionally happen in the grand revolutions of ſtates and empires, had not been the immediate cauſes of augmenting and improving, and of bringing them to perfection in England;

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England; for the privileges and immunities granted by Edward III. could only ſerve to gain a few ſtraglers, ſuch as fugitives for debt, malecontents, and criminals, the outcaſts of civil ſociety, who are neceſſitated to tranſport themſelves, and, generally ſpeaking, are not either the moſt induſtrious or laborious of mankind.

On the whole, Edward gained but a very inconſiderable number, one family of repute only being mentioned, viz. that of John Kemp, a native of Flanders, who removed into England in this reign, and was followed by about ſeventy different perſons, not families, as ſome authors have aſſerted, from the Walloon country in the neighbourhood of MECHLIN.

But bodies of manufacturers, who are ſober, frugal, and induſtrious, who are well eſtabliſhed with their families, and who have the leaſt ſpark of attachment for their native country, do not ſo eaſily leave it, and encounter all the perils of journies and voyages, upon the bare allurement of greater encouragement than they meet with at home, if they are ſecured there in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; but when once their perſons and properties are endangered, either by religious perſecutions, by deſpotic tyranny, popular tumults, inſurrections, civil wars, the invaſions of hoſtile force, or the devaſtations of famine, a total revolution in arts, manufactures and commerce takes place; and artificers, artiſans, manufacturers, and even merchants, will fly in bodies to the dominions of thoſe princes and ſtates who offer them the fulleſt enjoyment of the bleſſing they are in danger of loſing, or of which they are actually deprived; and where, from the genius of the country, its populouſneſs, and the extent of its commercial connections, their ſeveral arts and manufactures are moſt likely to be conſtantly wanted.

One of theſe great and ſingular events happened in the reign of Elizabeth.

The Walloons, who fled from the tyranny of D'Alva into England, were moſt kindly received by that great queen, and they carried to perfection the woollen manufacture, which, till this event, for want of a ſufficient number of ſkilful hands, had remained in an infant ſtate,

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making but a very ſlow progreſs, and barely ſupplying our markets for home conſumption.

THE ſtate of the ſilk manufactory in England, till a much later date, was exactly in the ſame ſituation as that of the woollen before the time of Elizabeth; for, though the prohibition on foreign wrought ſilks took place in the reign of Henry VII. yet ſo ſlow was the progreſs of the ſilk manufactory in England, and ſo trifling the improvements, that foreign ſilks were again imported under certain reſtrictions, and were worn by the opulent part of the people: nor was it till the well known impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz, by Lewis XIV, that this manufacture was perfectly eſtabliſhed with us, ſo as to prove not only a very conſiderable branch of domeſtic trade, but even of exportation.

THE Hugenots, or French proteſtants, being exiled from France, by this meaſure *, came and ſettled in bodies at Canterbury, and in Spital-Fields, London, where their deſcendants remain to this day.

VOLTAIRE, the Marquis Cæſar Beccaria Boneſaria, and ſome of our own moſt celebrated writers, particularly Anderſon and De Foe, concur in opinion, that England firſt began to flouriſh as a maritime commercial ſtate in the reign of Elizabeth.

THE manner in which Voltaire expreſſes himſelf on this occaſion is ſo ſtriking, that I cannot reſiſt the temptation of reciting his own words. "From the firſt beginning of Elizabeth's reign," ſays he, "the Engliſh applied themſelves to manufactures: the Flemings, "being perſecuted by Philip II, removed to London, bringing with

* By the revocation of the edict of Nantz (in the year 1685) it is computed that 800,000 of her moſt induſtrious ſubjects were driven out of France, and that they carried along with them above five millions ſterling in ſpecie, jewels, and other effects. Philip the IIId of Spain had embraced a ſimilar meaſure in that country towards the beginning of the laſt century. All the Moriſcos, or deſcendants of the ancient Moors, to the number of 900,000, were baniſhed from Spain, leaving the kingdom of Granada and the countries adjacent almoſt a deſert, from being the beſt cultivated and beſt peopled part of his dominions. This ill-judged piece of tyranny, which his more ſagacious predeceſſor had always rejected, had perhaps as great a ſhare as any other cauſe whatever, in reducing the Spaniards to the low ebb at which they have ſo long remained.

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" them an increaſe of inhabitants, induſtry and riches. This capital, " which enjoyed the bleſſings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated " likewiſe the liberal arts, which are the badges and conſequences of " plenty. In a word, London was enlarged, civilized and embelliſhed; " and, in a ſhort time, one half of the little iſland of Great Britain " was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain. The Engliſh " now figured as the ſecond nation in the world in induſtry, as in " liberty they were the firſt; and a private merchant in London, Sir " Thomas Greſham, was rich enough to build the Royal Exchange " at his own expence, and to found and endue a college for the edu- " cation of the children of his fellow citizens."

We muſt now recur to ſome of the principles of commerce we derived from the ancients, and obſerve how the application of them (by the wiſe and active miniſters and counſellors of Elizabeth) operated towards eſtabliſhing the extenſive commerce of England.

Carthage eſtabliſhed colonies, ſo did England, under the glorious adminiſtration of Elizabeth. Sir Walter Raleigh made ſeveral diſcoveries in America, which were improved in the time of James I; when ſeveral ſettlements were accompliſhed in the ſugar and tobacco iſlands. The ſucceſs of theſe encouraged other adventurers; and by this means, in proceſs of time, we effected ſettlements in every part of the American world; which increaſed our ſhipping, extended our navigation, and became one of the ſources of that immenſe power and opulence which has enabled Great Britain, within theſe laſt twenty years, to eſtabliſh a moſt formidable marine; to raiſe ſupplies for carrying on the moſt expenſive wars; and yet, even in the midſt of the vaſt operations of hoſtile enterprize, to extend and improve that commerce to which ſhe is indebted for her national ſtrength.

Plantations, or colonies, are undoubtedly a principal cauſe of enriching this nation; and we are indebted to antiquity for this element of commerce. We ſhall hereafter examine accurately, in its proper place, by what means each of our colonies diſtinctly contributes to the general benefit of Great Britain.

The eſtabliſhment of a maritime force for the protection of navigation, was deemed, by the ancients, one of the grand principles of

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commerce. Elizabeth adopted this maxim, and kept up a maritime power ſo formidable as to awe her enemies and protect the trade of her ſubjects. Her fleets were almoſt every where victorious, and her admirals, Drake and Cavendiſh, ſailed round the world, attacking in their progreſs the Spaniards, who had extended their conqueſts and trade to the extremeties of the globe. At length, her maritime force grew ſo formidable, that the Engliſh fleet attacked Philip the IId on his own coaſts, burnt the city of Cadiz, and on the acceſſion of his ſucceſſor, Philip the IIId, they defeated the firſt fleet he ſent to ſea.

At this æra, the Engliſh gained a ſuperiority on the ocean, which has ever ſince been preſerved to the Britiſh flag; on the ſupport of which, not only our commercial intereſts, but our independent exiſtence as a nation depends. "The ſucceſſes of Elizabeth at ſea," ſays a commercial writer *, "made ſeamen; her ſucceſs in trade made merchants: "to ſay the truth, her ſubjects were fired with new thoughts; and "ſome of her principal nobility and gentry commenced merchant-"adventurers, and engaged in mercantile aſſociations, which laid the "foundation of public trading companies; ſome commanded ſhips; "ſome planted colonies; ſome ſupplied ſtock; ſome ventured their "lives; ſome their eſtates; but almoſt all, in general, contributed "ſomething. From the war with Spain, the ſeamen returned en-"riched with the plunder of whole fleets, and not only benefited "themſelves, but the whole nation. This made people run to ſea, "as country folks do to a fair; and the multitude of ſhips and ſeamen "grew ſo great in England, that her fleets were ſaid to cover the ſeas, "and the queen reigned as it were miſtreſs of the ocean;" nor was ſhe ever reduced to the neceſſity of exerting the cruel power of preſſing ſeamen; for her people were ſo animated by the example of their ſovereign, and the good fortune of their fellow ſubjects, that men crouded into the ſervice, not only from all parts of her own dominions, but from every country in Europe ſailors reſorted to England; and whatever adventure was on foot, public or private, they were ſure never to want hands. Thus, by exerting her naval ſtrength againſt Spain, ſhe

* De Foe's Plan of the Engliſh Commerce.

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increaſed it; and rendered her marine force at the ſame time ſufficiently formidable to protect her ſubjects in their new trade, and ſettlements in America.

TREATIES OF COMMERCE with different nations make a part of its principles, and were not unknown to the ancients, though they have been more frequent and better regulated by the moderns; they are ſtrictly neceſſary; for without them, commerce cannot be carried on with any degree of ſafety.

ELIZABETH (after the diſcoveries made by her ſubjects in America, and the ſettling of ſome plantations there) took every meaſure to make the commerce of her ſubjects univerſal, and to place it on a ſecure footing: for this purpoſe, ſhe engaged in treaties of amity and commerce with ſeveral conſiderable foreign powers; in virtue of which treaties, ſhe eſtabliſhed factories in their dominions, and increaſed the commercial connections and correſpondence of her ſubjects in every quarter of the world.

HER firſt embaſſy, on this account, was to the Great Duke of Muſcovy, from whom ſhe obtained ſtipulations for allowing a certain number of merchants to tranſport their merchandiſe through his extenſive dominions to Perſia, where they carried woollen cloths, kerſeys, bays, &c. The merchants carrying on this trade, formed afterwards a new plan of commerce with Muſcovy itſelf, ſending to England from thence, iron and hemp; and thus laid the foundation of the Ruſſia Company at London.

IN the next place, ſhe concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with Solyman the Magnificent, emperor of the Turks. The Engliſh merchants, on the ſtrength of this treaty, fitted out ſhips laden with Engliſh commodities, and the woollen manufactures in particular, for ſeveral parts of Turky; and eſtabliſhed factories at Conſtantinople, Aleppo, and Smyrna, where a flouriſhing commerce has been carried on by the Engliſh ever ſince, and this gave birth to the Turky Company.

THE trade carried on to the Gold Coaſts of Africa, from which we have ſince derived ſuch advantages for our Colonies, by the purchaſe of SLAVES, was likewiſe commenced at this æra; and at length, the merchants

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merchants carrying on this trade were incorporated into a ſociety called The African Company.

But the moſt intereſting, and, at this day, the moſt flouriſhing trading ſociety in the whole world, the Britiſh Eaſt India company, alſo owes its origin to this ever memorable period; for, on the 31ſt day of December, 1600, queen Elizabeth granted a charter to George earl of Cumberland, and to two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen and merchants, incorporating them into one body politic and corporate, by the name of *The governor and company of merchants of London trading to the Eaſt Indies*, empowering them to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and twenty-four perſons, annually, to form a committee; enabling them to purchaſe lands without limitation, and according them, a variety of privileges and immunities, ſuch as, exemption from cuſtoms for the firſt four years, &c. &c. and, on the ſtrength of this charter, the members raiſed among themſelves the ſum of ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, which was applied to building of ſhips, and other neceſſary ſervices, but was not thrown into one general fund, or capital ſtock, only each member furniſhed a quota, according to his circumſtances and inclination of adventuring, to be diſpoſed of under the direction of the governor and of the committee. However, in 1613, they formed a joint capital, and this very Eaſt India company ſubſiſted, under various viciſſitudes, till the year 1708, when it was loſt in the creation of the preſent eſtabliſhment of the Honourable, the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

Here then we may note the effects of another principle of commerce.

The incorporating of ſocieties of merchants, for carrying on any particular commerce, requiring a large capital, and which could never be undertaken by individuals, with equal advantage either to themſelves or to the ſtate.

But as ſeveral objections are urged againſt this principle, the firſt we have advanced that is liable to diſpute, this article ſhall be reſumed and diſcuſſed before we finally cloſe our ſubject.

To complete the records of theſe moſt glorious annals, we have ſtill in reſerve, a moſt ſignal improvement for the benefit and ſecurity of

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of commerce, which was the appointing a regular court, to hear and determine all cauſes relative to aſſurance or inſurance of ſhips and merchandiſe, which had been left before to private, and often arbitrary deciſions, whereby the inſured ſuffered great hardſhips, which were totally prevented by this meaſure.

This court conſiſted of the judge of the admiralty, the recorder of London, two doctors of the civil law, two common lawyers, and eight merchants of the firſt repute. It was conſtituted by commiſſion annually, iſſued by the lord-chancellor under the great ſeal; appeals lay from this court to the court of Chancery; upon depoſiting the ſum decreed againſt the appellant by the court of aſſurance in their hands, the bill in chancery to be filed within two months after the decree. No underwriter, nor aſſured perſon, was allowed to be a commiſſioner.

It is remarkable, that, beſides the grievance of arbitrary private deciſions, it is aſſigned, in the preamble of the act of parliament for eſtabliſhing this commiſſion, as one reaſon for the eſtabliſhment, "that aſſurers had drawn the parties aſſured to ſeek their moneys in "her majeſty's courts of law, to their great charges and delay;" yet we have returned to this practice again; for cauſes reſpecting aſſurances, if I am rightly informed, are now tried in the King's-bench.

Though the reign of this illuſtrious queen was the longeſt of any female reign we have any account of in hiſtory; yet, conſidering the advantages derived from her prudent, vigorous, and intelligent adminiſtration, to lateſt poſterity, we cannot but lament for her the brevity of human life, and expreſs a fruitleſs wiſh, that ſhe had lived to view the ſucceſſes which attended all thoſe glorious plans we have juſt recited.

The good queen died on the 24th of March, 1603, and the Eaſt India fleet returned from its firſt ſucceſsful voyage only in the month of September following.

But though the iſſue of her generous concern for the proſperity of the nation, could not be ſeen, nor the advantages be reaped from them till future ages, yet a noble leſſon is to be drawn from this reign for all legiſlators. "To lay the foundation, and ſecure the commercial

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" intereſts of their people to remote periods, though the ſucceſs of the " meaſures they take for this purpoſe ſhould not be immediately viſible, " and even tho' ſome apparent difficulties and diſadvantages may ariſe " from them, during their own ſhort period of exiſtence: monarchs, " miniſters, and ſenators, muſt ſeek to perpetuate their fame, not to in- " dulge their ambition and vanity, by confining themſelves merely to " ſuch limited ſcenes of action, as terminate during their lives, and are " often performed with a view only to temporary applauſe."

THE general Elements of Commerce hitherto pointed out, will, I hope, appear clear and evident, and as well connected as the nature of our ſubject will admit; for, as we are to eſtabliſh a ſet of uncontrovertible principles, it became neceſſary, as they aroſe, to explain and illucidate them by hiſtorical anecdotes; and thus, principles being already taken up, which muſt be again applied to different parts of our ſubject, till the whole is completed, muſt neceſſarily occaſion ſome few repetitions, which, as they are unavoidable, I hope will need no further apology.

I SHALL endeavour now to connect, arrange, and apply them, in proper order, to the preſent ſtate of our inland trade and foreign commerce; introducing, as I proceed, ſuch principles as are of modern date, and have tended to carry both to a degree of perfection they never could attain in ancient times.

PART

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PART III.

HAVING clearly proved, in the preceding pages, that inland trade was founded on the ſimple principle of barter, or the mutual exchanges of the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life; that this, in after times, gave riſe to the art of navigation; and that, by means of this art, foreign commerce was eſtabliſhed in different countries, in the early ages of the world; and having alſo hiſtorically traced the progreſs of univerſal commerce, till we have happily ſettled it in our own country, on a firm and extenſive baſis:

THE order of our ſubject now requires, that we ſhould deduce the origin, mark the progreſs, and point out the preſent ſtate of thoſe arts and manufactures, which, after having operated the effects of the firſt principle of trade, in ſupplying our mutual wants by means of barter at home, have furniſhed us with ſuch exceſſes, or ſuperfluous quantities, that we have been enabled to carry them, on advantageous terms, to foreign markets, thereby continually encreaſing our foreign commerce, as well as the relative ſtrength and riches of the nation.

AND here it will be neceſſary to attend very cloſely to our ſubject, and accurately to note the principles on which their proſperity depends; for a Britiſh ſenator cannot be too well informed of the ſituation of our arts and manufactures, ſo far as they contribute to the flouriſhing ſtate of our foreign commerce, which alone can ſupport the beſt of conſtitutions; eſpecially as it is univerſally allowed, that we are a maritime commercial ſtate, and have no other means to maintain our preſent power and influence in Europe, but what we derive from the proſperous ſtate of our commerce.

THE STOCK in TRADE, with which any nation ſets up a foreign commerce, muſt conſiſt of the produce of the ſoil, and the labour of the people.

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THE produce of the ſoil forms the natural riches of a nation.

THE labour of the people, the acquired or relative wealth of a ſtate*.

AGRICULTURE, in all its branches (that is, the art of improving land, ſo as to render it as fertile as poſſible,) is the proper means of encreaſing the natural riches of any nation; and it is the parent of all other arts.

THE USEFUL ARTS and MANUFACTURES are the means of augmenting the acquired riches of a ſtate, by the moſt profitable exertions of the labour of the people.

THE LIBERAL and POLITE ARTS embelliſh ſociety, and ſometimes are carried to ſuch perfection, that they likewiſe contribute to the relative riches of nations. But as this does not generally nor frequently happen in any great degree, it is neceſſary to draw the line of diſtinction between theſe and the uſeful, which are, in general, the mechanic arts.

To begin at the fountain-head.

* Land and labour together are the ſources of all wealth;—without a competency of land there would be no ſubſiſtence, and but a very poor one without labour: ſo that wealth or riches conſiſt either in a property in land, or in the products of land and labour.

Harris's Eſſay upon Money and Coins, Part I. *including the Theory of Commerce.*

ON

ON AGRICULTURE.

BEFORE we enter on the diſcuſſion of this important ſubject, I muſt take the liberty to introduce a few miſcellaneous remarks of an anonymous writer, who has lately publiſhed a volume of letters on the preſent ſtate of the French nation, with a compleat compariſon between FRANCE and GREAT BRITAIN in every point of view *.

"I FLATTER myſelf you will think me guilty of no impropriety, "in giving AGRICULTURE the pre-eminence, in my view of the pre- "ſent ſtate of France. In all kingdoms this firſt and original art, "this foundation of all others, muſt be purſued and encouraged, or "the reſt will be faint and languid.

"AGRICULTURE being the only ſure dependence of any people, thoſe "who depend moſt on it are in the moſt certain road. It ought there- "fore to be the policy of wiſe ſtates not only to give encouragement to "huſbandry, but to place their dependence on it, by acting in ſuch a "manner, that their ſafety or happineſs may not be endangered by "the loſs of any thing elſe.

"A DEPENDENCE upon commerce at large, without diſtinction, "never was, nor ever can be, in any degree comparable to that "upon cultivation; it is far more fluctuating, more open to rivalry "of neighbours, and even liable to almoſt total deſtruction; whereas "the very contrary is the caſe with agriculture; and, in reſpect to the "trade that proceeds from it, even that, of all commerce whatever, "is the moſt ſecure; for the ſale of abſolute neceſſaries will ever be "more ſure than that of ſuperfluities.

* London, printed for W. Nicoll, 1771.

"WHEREVER

" WHEREVER great numbers of people have exiſted, we may take " it for granted agriculture has been followed; for without it they " could not live."

THE following ſentiment does equal honour to the humanity and good ſenſe of this unknown author.

" IT is one of the moſt melancholy reflections humanity can ſuggeſt, " that the records of mankind are filled with miſerable butcheries, " while the cultivation of the earth is ſcarcely mentioned. A few " pages would give us a complete compilation of the hiſtory of agri- " culture, which feeds mankind;---millions of volumes are filled with " the art of war, which deſtroys them: ſuch are the cruel prejudices " of this world!"

AGRICULTURE increaſes population; and the multiplication of people, augments the acquired riches of a nation, in proportion to the quantity of labour. Agriculture, therefore, conſidered as the baſis of multiplication of the people, ought to be the firſt object of attention in every civilized ſtate. It is ſuppoſed the ſpontaneous fruits of the earth always produced a ſufficient fund of nouriſhment for mankind; but when to this was added the exertions of labour, aiding the vigour of different ſoils, a ſuperfluity, or redundance, was the conſequence; and the diſpoſal of this ſuperfluity, by way of barter, was the only uſe that could be made of it in the earlieſt ages of the world, before general commerce was introduced. But ſince the univerſality of commerce among the nations of the earth, the ſoil of moſt countries has been made to produce more than is ſufficient for the purpoſes of the ſimple inland trade ariſing out of barter. The ſoil of Great Britain, in particular, after ſupplying our mutual wants at home, becomes a very conſiderable object of foreign commerce. Juſt the ſame effect is produced by the ingenuity, induſtry, and labour of the people; after ſupplying the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life at home, the labours of artiſts and manufacturers are ſent abroad, and the acquired riches of the nation are thereby continually increaſing.

THE care, trouble and riſk of tranſporting theſe to foreign climes centers with the merchant, who is actuated to exert his commercial

good

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good offices by a principle of gain, on the balance of his exchange of articles, in the courſe of his tranſactions between different countries; and this is alſo the reward he expects for the general utility of his undertaking to ſociety. But the merchant, who generally reſides in capitals or ſea-ports, muſt have his intermediate agents or factors in the different provinces of a kingdom. Theſe are very often country ſhop-keepers and dealers, who have cut ſhort the operation of ancient barter, by the introduction of another agent, termed *money*, which has alſo enlarged the firſt principle of barter, and conſtituted a general inland trade, which we term *buying* and *ſelling*. Theſe dealers or ſhop-keepers purchaſe with money the ſuperfluous quantity of grain the huſbandman has produced beyond what he can either conſume or diſpoſe of in ſimple barter. The ſame is done with reſpect to the labours of artiſts and manufacturers; and thus a connection and regular gradation is kept up between the huſbandman, the artiſt, the manufacturer, the ſhop-keeper, dealer, factor, and the merchant; and, in the following order, their utility to the ſtate, in their reſpective characters, ſeems to be preciſely determined.

The huſbandman, by his ſkill, increaſes the produce of the ſoil. The natural effect of the abundance of the productions of the earth is the multiplication of the human ſpecies. Population, again, increaſes the ſame productions, by an additional quantity of labour; and the ſame happens with reſpect to the arts and manufactures; a ſuperfluity being the conſequence in every branch. This muſt be circulated internally, in a certain proportion, which creates a number of ſhop-keepers and retail traders, who live by the profits ariſing from buying and ſelling; for they buy in quantities, at a cheap rate, what they retail in ſmall proportions, for the convenience of individuals; and this profit is an indemnification for ſundry loſſes in the diviſion, admeaſurement, &c. of the commodities bought in groſs, many of them being ſubject to periſh, diminiſh, and waſte; and alſo a recompence for their attendance on this buſineſs of buying and ſelling. Thus the inland trade of a country is eſtabliſhed; and before we proceed to extend this to the introduction of foreign commerce, I would beg leave to point out in a familiar

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familiar inſtance the difference between the ancient, limited, awkward operations of ſimple barter, and the convenient extenſive tranſactions of inland trade, derived from that ſimple principle.

THE huſbandman is not any longer obliged, being poſſeſſed of five hundred ſacks of wheat, to exchange them with as many families, who may have occaſion for each a ſack; this tedious and painful operation is removed by the merchant, who, by means of his agents or factors, purchaſes the whole quantity, either with money, or on his credit, (another grand principle of commerce, on which we ſhall enlarge in its proper place): nor is the ſame huſbandman obliged to run up and down in ſearch of every artificer, artiſt, or manufacturer, to furniſh him implements, cloaths, and other neceſſaries, for himſelf and family. The inland trader, or retail ſhop-keeper, furniſhes him a variety of articles together, in ſuch quantities as ſuit his demand; and, as the ſhop-keeper is perhaps already ſupplied with grain ſufficient for the food of his family, he neceſſarily pays him for theſe articles with a part of the money he has received of the merchant's agent for his wheat.

Now while we ſuppoſed the huſbandman ſupplying himſelf with cloaths from the clothier, and with implements of huſbandry from the mechanic artiſt, and making a return to them in grain or cattle, for food; and men in general ſeeking to ſupply their mutual wants from the very hands of the perſons employed in the ſeveral branches of induſtry and labour capable of ſupplying them; the uſe of money, or of ſhop-keepers, agents, and merchants, was unknown, and very often the ſuperfluous product of the ſoil periſhed, being totally unprofitable.

THE overplus, beyond the demands for internal circulation, renders the claſs of men called *agents*, *factors*, or *brokers*, extremely uſeful; theſe being diſperſed, like the ſhop-keepers, throughout the different provinces of a kingdom, and being finally connected with the merchants, who take upon them the trouble and riſk of exporting the ſuperfluous product of the earth, and of the labour of the people, which tends ultimately to the enriching themſelves, and the whole nation.

BUT

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BUT the merchant cannot perform this operation for the benefit of himſelf and his fellow-citizens, but by means of another ſet of men, whom we ſhall diſtinguiſh by the general titles of *navigators* and *ſeamen*.

NOR is this ſufficient; for, after having laden his ſhips with the natural produce or manufactures of his country, he muſt, in time of war, receive additional ſupport from the ſtate. A maritime force muſt be kept on foot, to eſcort and protect his merchandiſe to the deſtined port, and to ſecure it from all attempts of the enemy.

MONSIEUR DESLANDES, in his addreſs to the Count de Maurepas, ſecretary of ſtate to the French monarch, in the year 1743, obſerves, "That a ſtrong naval force is the pillar and ſupport of the ſtate; that "when it is numerous, and under a proper regulation, it will be able "to give law to all Europe; the ſtate will be ſecure, it will have "nothing to fear; its commerce will be extenſive, profitable, and "unmoleſted."

THUS the ſeveral claſſes of men juſt deſcribed, unite or combine to ſet the buſy world in motion, and to encourage induſtrious nations, by circulating the natural wealth of the world; to raiſe to themſelves a new ſpecies of riches, which the ſtate of nature was unacquainted with, but which is found to enhance the value of life, by ameliorating its enjoyments, and refining its pleaſures.

As the riches I have in view are known under the general denomination of MONEY, it becomes neceſſary in this place, (though I ſhall enlarge on this material ſubject, when treating of public credit and coin, under the head of FINANCES) juſt to mention, that whatever is eſtabliſhed, by the authority of any nation, to be the medium of their mutual exchanges with each other, in the courſe of traffic, is properly, the money of a nation.

IT may therefore conſiſt of gold, ſilver, and copper coin; or of paper; as bank-notes, bills of exchange, promiſſory notes and bonds; all of them anſwering one and the ſame purpoſe, viz. GENERAL CIRCULATION.

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THE produce of the ſoil of Great Britain conſiſts of CORN, WOOD, COALS, TIN, LEAD, COPPER, IRON, SALT, FISH *, WOOL, LEATHER, ALLUMN, and LAPIS CALLIMANARIS; to which we muſt add the produce of our plantations or colonies, theſe having the ſame effect on the ſtate of our commerce as the articles of home growth; they are TOBACCO, SUGARS, COFFEE, GINGER, RUM, COTTON, MAHOGANY, TIMBER, IRON, SILK, FURS, RICE, INDIGO, MELASSES, TURPENTINE, POT-ASH, WAX, PIMENTO, and ſeveral other ſpices and drugs.

THE amazing extent of foreign commerce, ariſing from the exportation of the ſundry articles enumerated as the produce of the ſoil of Great Britain, either in their natural or manufactured, improved ſtate; and from the importation and re-exportation of the produce of our colonies and ſettlements abroad, is a proof, that our general notions of commerce are juſt, however we may deviate from its true principles in ſome particulars, which ſhall be pointed out, in their proper place.

THE firſt general principle of a trading nation, with reſpect to its internal polity, muſt be the employment of a ſufficient number of hands, in producing the neceſſaries of life in ſuch quantities, that there may be plenty for the general conſumption of the inhabitants, and a ſurplus of ſome to export to foreign climes, to be exchanged, through the good offices of the merchant, for an equivalent in ſpecie, or merchandize, on advantageous terms.

THE moſt ample encouragement imaginable muſt therefore be given to AGRICULTURE; for this we have already ſhewn to be the moſt ancient principle of commerce, which has never varied in any age, or in any clime, that would admit of its being reduced to practice. One of the moſt politic and profitable encouragements ever given to agriculture is of modern date, and was firſt adopted as a principle of commerce by the Britiſh parliament in the year 1689. I mean, the bounty on the exportation of corn, which has given a new life and ſpirit to huſbandry,

* This article, though not ſtrictly the produce of the earth, yet being taken on the ſeas, chiefly within the territorial juriſdiction of Great Britain, at home, and in its colonies, muſt be conſidered as forming part of the natural riches of the ſtate.

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has brought conſiderable riches into England, and has contributed to raiſe the value of lands above one third. By means of this encouragement, the farmer is animated to exert his beſt ſkill and labour, in aiding the natural vigour of the ſoil, to procure a commodity which he is ſure to vend on advantageous terms, either for home conſumption, or for exportation.

BEFORE this memorable period, England, like many other countries, had followed the ſpirit of the Roman laws, with reſpect to the article of grain; laws highly impolitic, and incompatible with the preſent ſtate of Europe, divided, as it is, into a number of ſtates, whoſe intereſts are diametrically oppoſite to each other; whereas Rome, miſtreſs of the world, could have no balance of trade to calculate with her own provinces. Beſides, ſhe exhauſted them by the weight of tributes, and the avarice of her prefects; ſo that, if Rome had not been obliged to reſtore to her provinces and colonies, the value of the neceſſaries ſhe extracted from them, ſhe muſt have ſwallowed up the treaſures of the univerſe, in the ſame manner as ſhe uſurped its empire. Till this grand principle was happily introduced into our ſyſtem of police, we had frequently been obliged to have recourſe, for the grain neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, to foreign ſtates, ſometimes even to our rivals in commerce, and natural enemies the French; and had likewiſe often experienced thoſe fatal revolutions in the prices, which by turns diſcourage the huſbandman, or diſtract the maſs of the people. POLAND, DENMARK, AFRICA, and SICILY, were the public granaries of Europe, at the time this beneficial alteration took place. The policy of theſe ſtates, who laid no reſtraint on the commerce of grain, and their conſtant plenty, though ſome of them neither enjoyed domeſtic tranquillity, nor a good conſtitution, ſerved, no doubt, to open the eyes of our government to the true intereſts of the people, and to give them reaſon to hope, that the greateſt advantages might be derived from it, in a ſtate where the public tranquillity had juſt been ſecured, and its excellent conſtitution eſtabliſhed on a firm baſis, by a glorious revolution. In ſhort, this was the happy criſis for the introduction of a principle which was liable to objections and oppoſition,

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from the prejudices which cuſtom had introduced, and private intereſt ratified. It was neceſſary the people ſhould have that confidence in government, without which the beſt regulations prove abortive, eſſentially neceſſary for ſurmounting a very great obſtacle to this new regulation. A foreign commerce in corn ſuppoſed a full liberty to ſtore it, for as long time as the owner ſhould think proper; a liberty which ignorance and obſtinacy had rendered odious to the nation: the very notion of keeping granaries before this time would have excited a ſedition; but the people happily had the requiſite confidence in the new adminiſtration, which crowned this bold but ſalutary meaſure with ſucceſs.

THE bounty ſoon enabled us to be competitors, in this valuable branch of commerce, with the moſt fertile countries of Europe; and changed the popular ideas concerning this trade, and the keeping corn in granaries, for the moſt favourable opportunity of exporting it.

THE wiſdom of the legiſlature at the ſame time put a check to the pernicious operations of avarice, by limiting this bounty to certain prices.

THUS, if wheat exceeds forty-eight ſhillings per quarter in our public markets, the bounty is ſuſpended, becauſe it has got above the price at which the induſtrious artiſt and manufacturer, and the poorer ſort of labouring people, ought to be ſupplied with it; and this price certainly denotes a ſcarcity, ariſing either from a ſucceſſion of bad ſeaſons, previous exports of too great quantities, or clandeſtine monopolies, formed by combinations among intereſted factors, to hoard up conſiderable quantities in private granaries, till an artificial ſcarcity is brought on, and the price raiſed to the gratification of their avaricious views.

A REAL ſcarcity in England (owing to the very great demands from many parts of Europe, but particularly from Italy, where the corn failed in the years 1764, 1765, and 1766, followed, unfortunately, by bad ſeaſons here) brought the wiſdom of this meaſure of allowing bounties on the exportation of corn into diſpute, and various writings were publiſhed on both ſides of the queſtion. The detail of this conteſt would be endleſs; the reſult of the whole is, that the commercial advantages

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advantages to a trading nation, derived from this meaſure, remain ſelf-evident; the utmoſt that has been alledged againſt it amounting to no more than to prove, that this benefit, like many others, has been abuſed, and that due care ought to be taken by the government to examine into the real ſtock of corn in the kingdom, as often as it approaches the price at which the bounty ſtops; and to take ſpecial care, after a neceſſary ſuſpenſion of the bounty for ſome time, to be well aſſured, that there is plenty for a long ſeaſon in hand, before the bounty is permitted again to take place. Theſe precautions premiſed, the wiſdom of the Britiſh parliament, in granting this bounty, ſtands unimpeached, and is a noble commercial principle.

Besides, the event has juſtified the meaſure; for, till the late ſcarcity obliged us even to import foreign corn, (perhaps to re-import ſome of our own, for the exportation of which the bounty had been paid), the balance of our trade with Holland, and ſome other countries, was conſiderably increaſed, by means of our exportations of corn.

The general ſtate of the exportation of grain ſince the bounty, will put the matter out of doubt, by ſhewing the very great degree in which this commerce augments the relative riches of a nation. The detail of long accounts is unneceſſary here: it will fully anſwer our purpoſe to note, from our beſt writers, and the moſt authentic computations, that the bounty paid as a ſpur to induſtry, and an encouragement to the huſbandman to aid the natural vigour of the ſoil, by every art which may render it moſt productive of ſo valuable an article of commerce as corn, amounted, for a number of years, from an hundred and fifty, to five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; which is ſo much money thrown into circulation, to the advantage of arts, manufactures, and inland trade.

From 1746 to 1750, near ſix millions of quarters of grain of different qualities were exported; and the ſums brought into the kingdom in return are computed at eight millions ſterling. We alſo find that when our exports were largeſt, wheat was at the loweſt price.

Now let us add the advantage ariſing to navigation: Almoſt all this great quantity of corn was exported in Engliſh bottoms, the freight of

which

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which is another clear gain of a very conſiderable ſum; for the purchaſer or conſumer ultimately pays this charge, in an advanced price upon every commodity; and if we likewiſe take into the account the employment given annually, during the years juſt mentioned, to at leaſt one hundred and fifty thouſand men, by this operation, we ſhall find that we have the moſt irrefragable proofs of the national benefits of this bounty. A principle ſo well ſupported by facts appears to me irreproachable; but I will not deny that there may be ſome faults in the execution of this, as there moſt commonly are in that of the beſt laws.

WITH reſpect to the internal effect of this commercial principle on agriculture, (the encouragement of which we have ſhewn to be the firſt eſſential object of all wiſe governments) it appears, by the beſt calculations, that the price of wheat for ninety-one years before the bounty was eſtabliſhed, was much higher, on an average, than it has been for the eighty years that have elapſed ſince the period when the bounty took place; ſo that accidental ſcarcity is not to be imputed to the bounty.

THE Britiſh parliament has therefore, properly ſpeaking, introduced a new principle into commerce: the effect of it, in one inſtance, we have demonſtrated; but its operations become ſtill more ſucceſsful as they are more general. When we look into the preſent ſtate of our mechanic arts and manufactures, we find the effect of bounties has been wonderful indeed! eſpecially in the linen and ſilk manufactures. The bare mentioning the preſent flouriſhing ſituation of the linen manufactures in IRELAND and SCOTLAND, and of the mechanic and polite arts in ENGLAND, ſince the inſtitution of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, is ſufficient to remind us of the utility of bounties.

NOR can I quit this theme, without paying the tribute of juſt praiſe to that laudable foundation, which even a French writer declares, "is more beneficial to this nation than all the royal, pompous eſta-"bliſhments of academies at Paris."

YET, in juſtice to thoſe who object to the continuation of bounties, after the purpoſe for which they were granted is effected, I muſt obſerve,

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that the paying bounties and premiums on arts and manufactures, when they are ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed, by means of the encouragement given them in their infant-ſtate, as to be very profitable to the inventors, proprietors, or managers, is like keeping the leading-ſtrings on a child after it is ſtrong enough to run alone. I am even ready to admit this to have been the caſe with reſpect to the bounty on corn; provided the declaimers againſt it will not attack a principle incontrovertible in itſelf, merely on account of ſome defects in its application in the courſe of a long ſeries of years.

The end propoſed by the government at the inſtitution of this bounty, was the encouragement of tillage, the procuring of abundance, and introducing a beneficial branch of commerce, which ſhould draw conſiderable ſums into this kingdom from foreign nations. But this end obtained, it is certainly incumbent on the preſent government to take care that its own ſubjects ſhould not eat the product of their land dearer than the ſubjects of foreign nations, to whom ſhe exports her corn; and when corn is cheaper in England than at foreign markets, ſo that no nation in Europe can be our competitors in this commerce, the profits on exportation will be a ſufficient inducement, without the bounty.

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ON POPULATION.

THE natural effect of AGRICULTURE is POPULATION, the promotion of which is a fixed element of commerce.

SIR JAMES STEUART, an excellent modern author, obſerves *, "That mankind have been as to numbers, and muſt ever be, in proportion to the food produced; and that the food produced will be "in the compound proportion of the fertility of the climate, and the "induſtry of the inhabitants." It follows therefore, that where the climate and ſoil are unfavourable, there moſt muſt depend on the induſtry of the inhabitants, and conſequently a greater number of hands will be neceſſary for the cultivation of the earth. If then population does not keep pace with agriculture, it is plain there muſt be ſome ſtriking defect ſomewhere in our political œconomy. I am ſorry to ſay this is the caſe at preſent in England. Of late years we have moſt unhappily loſt ſight of the grand principle of POPULATION, ſo eſſential to the ſucceſs of INLAND TRADE, the ſource of FOREIGN COMMERCE.

OUR lands, it is true, are cultivated, but not in the moſt beneficial manner for a commercial ſtate, though the profit may be greater to individuals.

THE vaſt increaſe of paſture-lands muſt ſtrike every accurate obſerver, and convince him, that more attention is paid at preſent to the breeding of HORSES than to the multiplication of the human ſpecies; ſo that there is very little proſpect that ſuch quantities of wheat (the ſtandard food for mankind) will be produced, for any length of time, as will

* Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy, vol. i. London, printed for T. Cadell, 1767.

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give room to revive the bounty on this article. We may be told that horſes are an article of inland trade, and even of exportation; but, alas! this will by no means compenſate for a decreaſe of population, which becomes more and more viſible upon every occaſion, when any great numbers of men are wanted to be called forth for the public ſervice; if they are raiſed at all, it is with the utmoſt difficulty, and every art and manufacture in the kingdom feels the want of them.

Besides, our lands may always be employed to much better purpoſe in raiſing the firſt materials for our manufactures. We are ſaid to purchaſe madder of the Dutch, to the amount of three hundred thouſand pounds annually, it being a very eſſential article in the important buſineſſes of dying and callico-printing, in which they are our rivals, and therefore have raiſed the price of this commodity to us. The cultivation of this plant, a native of England, would ſave the nation much more than it can poſſibly gain by the exportation of horſes. The ſame may be ſaid with reſpect to hemp, which we moſtly import from Ruſſia; yet the cultivation of theſe articles would be profitable as well as uſeful to the ſtate.

It ſeems to be a fatal miſtake, that the proportion between the two branches of huſbandry, tillage and feeding, is not fixed by ſome act of the legiſlature; for it is but too viſible, that the incloſing of lands only to increaſe paſturage, and the ſhameful practice now prevailing, of tying down tenants not to plow their land, or ſow it with corn, muſt prove highly detrimental to population, arts, manufactures, and commerce. Extenſive fields, that formerly gave employment to hundreds of thoſe robuſt uſeful people called *huſbandmen*, and on which many poor cottagers dwelt, are now in the poſſeſſion of ſome monopolizing grazier, and overlooked by a ſolitary ſhepherd. This ſtrange abuſe in the management of our lands, joined to the engroſſing of farms, muſt haſten our ruin, if not timely remedied. I dread moſt ſincerely the fatal conſequences of one very bad harveſt. Certain it is, that if the preſent avaricious plan proceeds much farther, we ſhall loſe an eighth part at leaſt of the number of our people; and with this decreaſe of

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population, there will be a proportionable diminution of manufactures, of inland trade, and of general commerce.

It may be urged, that emigrations to our colonies, and new poſſeſſions, ſince the peace, occaſion that apparent thinneſs of inhabitants, obſervable in all parts of the kingdom, except the capital. But let us aſk this queſtion in return, what has been the chief cauſe of theſe emigrations? Not any extraordinary temptations from abroad, but dreadful diſcouragements at home. An inſtinct, a deſire to propagate his ſpecies, is inherent in man; but there is a ſentiment of pain and ſorrow accompanies the very idea of pleaſure in this caſe, to a mind capable of the leaſt reflection, when no probable proſpect appears that the pregnant female ſhall be in ſo good a ſituation as the birds of the air; not ſo much as provided with a warm neſt;---pardon the expreſſion;--- but ſuch is the homely cottage to the humble peaſant; nor yet with the means of giving food and raiment to her helpleſs offspring: while the numerous agents of planters and ſettlers in our colonies, and the emiſſaries of foreign princes, offer theſe comforts at leaſt; and while they can be had, the poor youth of both ſexes will go in ſearch of them, though it be to ſome arid clime, beneath the torrid zone.

Population is ſo great an object to this, and indeed to every trading, maritime power, that I muſt intreat your patience, while I expatiate at large on its preſent declining ſtate.

In the public news-papers in 1768, the following extract was given from the regiſter of a pariſh in a conſiderable county in England. "From the year 1542 to 1560, there were 36 marriages, chriſtenings, "and burials, in the pariſh of *****, in the county of ******," (I am ſorry the name of the pariſh and county was not given); "and, "in the ſame pariſh, from 1755 to 1765, there were no more than "four."

I will not waſte the time in ſhewing, by progreſſive multiplication, what the number of people in this pariſh might have been in the preſent year 1771, provided due care had been taken to find proper employment for the poor, and to let them habitations on eaſy terms; it is ſufficient to inform you, that neither the ſword nor peſtilence has prevailed

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prevailed in this and many ſuch pariſhes; but a worſe ſcourge from Heaven; flinty-hearted, or prodigal, luxurious landlords, have ſwept away the inhabitants. The account annexed to this extract farther ſets forth, "That moſt of the ſmall tenements and farms having fallen "into the lord of the manor's hands, he has let the whole to one or "two ſubſtantial farmers; and the village now reſembles a place that "has been ſacked and plundered, there being above fifty dwelling-"houſes and cots uninhabited, and falling into ruins."

To confirm this relation, and to ſhew that this muſt be the caſe all over England, we need only refer to that celebrated performance, *Conſiderations on the Trade and Finances of the Kingdom, &c.* publiſhed in the year 1766, ſuppoſed to be written under the direction of the late Mr. Grenville; wherein we are told the number of houſes in England and Wales, from 1759 to that year, had decreaſed five thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety; including in the account all the new buildings about Weſtminſter, and every where elſe. Moſt other writers of credit, of late years, have been likewiſe of opinion, that population decreaſes conſiderably in this kingdom *.

In a commercial ſtate, where a ſufficient quantity of hands are wanting for agriculture, the uſeful arts and manufactures, for navigation, and to furniſh a conſiderable military force in time of war, what excuſe can that man make to his country, who, by depriving the poorer ſort of all the proſpect of the common conveniencies of life, ſuch as a fixed habitation and employment, prevents marriage, and perhaps occaſions many, who have not been bred up to any branch of trade or of the manufactures, to wander from their reſpective countries, to engage in ſervile offices, of little or no uſe to the ſtate, in compariſon of the huſbandman, or to go abroad? To add to the evil of engroſſing farms, a falſe ſpirit of emulation is ſet up amongſt the farmers, and they are tempted to bid againſt each other daily, for new leaſes, till

* In the twenty-fifth year of Henry the eighth, this iniquity of monopolizing farms, raiſing old rents, knocking down cottages, ejecting poor villagers, thereby preventing the breed of fowls, pigs, &c. was got to ſuch a heighth, that an act was paſſed to prevent any man holding above two farms in one pariſh, one of which he was obliged to reſide in.

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the rent of almoſt every eſtate in the kingdom is doubled: And who are to pay this advanced price?---The conſumers of all ſorts of proviſions.

EQUALLY detrimental to population is the diſpoſal of the incomes ariſing from rack-rents. They are remitted to the land-holders, who generally reſide in the metropolis; and, indeed, here the great evil ariſes. Formerly our worthy anceſtors reſided the greateſt part of the year on their eſtates; and, if a bad ſeaſon, ſickneſs, or any caſualty, diſtreſſed their little tenants, they had ſouls open to the feelings of humanity and benevolence, and, by their frugality and temperance, they were enabled to excuſe or forgive (theſe were the terms of thoſe days) half a year, or a year's rent. But, at preſent, this charitable diſpoſition, ſuppoſing it to ſubſiſt, has no room to operate. The great land-holder is far removed from his country-manſion; he lives luxuriouſly in the capital; and that his income may be always in readineſs for the calls of ſportive pleaſure and high living, his lands are all let to ſubſtantial farmers, who will not plead poverty, ſickneſs, or any other caſualty for delay of rent, but will punctually ſupply the ſinking fund in his banker's or agent's hands at London.

As to the complaint that old Engliſh hoſpitality is baniſhed, it reſounds from all parts; and how ſhould it be otherwiſe, when, after doubling his rents, and turning away all the induſtrious poor from his eſtate, a gentleman of one thouſand pounds per annum cannot keep ſo good an houſe as his anceſtors did with half the income; nor, for the ſhort time he paſſes in the country, make ſo good a figure, or be ſo liberal to the few poor neighbours left in his pariſh, as an opulent grazier, or monopolizing farmer? The reaſon is clear; the conductors of public amuſements, ſtock-jobbers, fiddlers, hair-dreſſers, in ſhort a whole group of uſeleſs ſlaves of luxury, many of them foreigners, who ſurround his family, abſorb that portion of his income which is not expended for abſolute neceſſity, and he only retires to the country to recruit; not to let its induſtrious peaſants enjoy any part of that increaſed revenue, which their hard labour and rack-rents have furniſhed.

A LATE

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A LATE writer, lamenting the ſtate of France, from the nobility and gentry ſpending their time at Paris, computes that the twenty-fifth part of the inhabitants of that kingdom reſide in that gay capital; but he makes our caſe worſe; for he aſſerts, that the tenth part of the whole people of England reſide at London. I hope, for the honour of humanity, for the ſake of population, that grand ſupport of the wealth and power of a maritime ſtate, he exaggerates; yet the great increaſe of buildings in and about the metropolis, and the deſerted ſtate of many large country towns and villages, beſpeak it but too true.

THE rents of houſes in London are riſen, within twenty years, above one third. The rents of houſes in country-towns, where there are not any very capital manufactures carried on, are fallen, within the ſame ſpace of time, above one half.

THE want of that redundancy of live ſtock, which the poor cottager raiſed on his ſmall farm, and was obliged to carry to market at a moderate price, as ſoon as reared, is the occaſion of the ſcarcity and dearneſs of proviſions, ſo juſtly complained of for ten years paſt. The great farmers are better employed for their own account, than in raiſing poultry, &c. for the markets; and the want of little farmers proves, that the means of ſettling in life are taken away, and, conſequently, that both the numbers of the people, and a proportional quantity of proviſions, muſt be continually decreaſing.

WE ſet out with defining commerce to be a reciprocal communication between men of the neceſſaries of life. This idea alone evidently points out agriculture as the baſis of commerce. Population is the fruit of the encouragement given to this parent art, and of the ſucceſs attending its extenſive operations. Maxims of this importance cannot be too often repeated, although they are common, and in every one's mouth. The perſuaſion of the truth of a principle forms only an imperfect degree of knowledge, if we will not allow it its whole force, and ſuffer it to influence our conduct. The rough ſketch I have drawn of the declining ſtate of population in the country, proves but too clearly, that though the true principles of agriculture and population, politically conſidered, are well underſtood, the ſelfiſh and miſtaken

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views of the land-holders, co-operating with a cool indifference, or ta beſt a lukewarmneſs for the general welfare of their country, has prevailed ſo univerſally, that they are rejected in practice, though reſpected in theory.

When the proprietor of lands and his tenants come to have ſeparate intereſts, and the former is regardleſs of the condition of the latter, provided he can only raiſe the value of his eſtate by the ſweat of the labourer's brow, the huſbandman may ſtill continue to toil in the furrow; (for men, from the very idea of preſervation, inſeparably attached to their exiſtence, will purſue that occupation which will provide for their moſt urgent wants) but this done, the reſtraints and burdens he finds himſelf under will diſcourage and diſhearten him to that degree, that he will not exert his beſt abilities, ſo to improve the land, as that it may produce a ſurplus, for the purpoſes of commerce. If he has not the leaſt proſpect in view of ameliorating his eſtate, of enjoying ſome eaſe and ſatisfaction in his humble ſphere, of ſettling comfortably, and providing decently for a family, all his induſtry will center in himſelf, and he will take no further concern upon himſelf than to acquire food and raiment for his own perſon. Thus population ſtagnates; and the nation, where ſuch prejudices and paſſions take root, inſenſibly recurs back to an infant ſtate of agriculture and commerce, by one of thoſe revolutions to which even the beſt human inſtitutions are liable.

I will not dwell on the evils ariſing from a decreaſe of population; the bare mention of the moſt obvious and fatal conſequences will be ſufficient to ſhew the neceſſity of altering our conduct, and ſetting on foot ſome laudable plan to increaſe the numbers of our people, which do not now bear a due proportion to the number of acres of ſoil, neither are they ſufficient for the ſecurity and defence of the ſtate, in times of public calamity, ſuch as the invaſion of a foreign enemy, or a civil war.

The conſequences of a decreaſe of population to the ſtate muſt be the decline of its maritime power; becauſe, in this caſe, it will be impoſſible to furniſh her a proper number of ſeamen. The diminution

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of her maritime force neceſſarily brings on a decay of commerce, for want of due protection on the ſeas.

Its manufactures muſt ſuffer in the ſame proportion, from the ſame cauſe; a ſcarcity of hands for carrying them on; ſo that they will neither be ſo good in quality, nor ſo great in quantity.

Inland trade muſt ſtagnate in proportion to the diminution of the number of people who ſhould conſume its commodities.

Foreign commerce, from the badneſs and high price of the manufactures exported, muſt decay. All theſe events muſt happen, ſooner or later, if there is a ſcarcity of labouring hands in a commercial ſtate.

The principle of population, therefore, cannot be too ſtrongly enforced; and from whatever cauſes it may ariſe, if what I have aſſerted be found true, that the number of our people is conſiderably decreaſed, for the intereſts of commerce, we cannot be too expeditious in applying a remedy to ſo great a national evil.

Amongst other meaſures, more complicated and liable to objections, the following have been thrown out by different writers on this ſubject.

A distribution of the uncultivated crown-lands, in ſmall portions, liable to trifling quit-rents.

Contributions amongſt the nobility and gentry, towards erecting ſmall farms on theſe lands, and ſupplying young couples of good character with the implements of huſbandry.

The lending ſmall ſums to poor artiſts and manufacturers, on their perſonal ſecurity, to be returned after a certain time, either in ſpecie, or in the produce of their induſtry, provided always that ſuch perſons either were actually married, or engaged to enter into that ſtate, and to ſettle in a family manner.

Laying a penalty, or ſome other reſtraint, on the immoderate conſumption of ſpirituous liquors, by which ſo many women and children are deſtroyed.

Obliging gentlemen of rank in every pariſh to take the charge of adminiſtring the poors rates, inſtead of tradeſmen, who, through hurry,

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are inattentive, or through intereſted views are biaſſed to a partial, or improvident diſtribution of the vaſt ſums collected throughout the kingdom for the relief of our poor.

ERECTING and endowing more hoſpitals for the maintenance and education of deſerted children, and of ſuch whoſe parents are not able to maintain them, whether legitimate or natural; by which means, peaſants, poor artificers, mechanics, and other indigent and induſtrious people, may have the burden of a large family taken off, and their young children diſpoſed of at an age, when they impede the operations of induſtry, and call off the attention of one or both parents from their ordinary labour to the care of looking after them. Some very reſpectable authors, both ancient and modern, have maintained, that huſbandmen, manufacturers, and retail tradeſmen, ſhould never have more than three or four children to provide for, and that all above that number ſhould be reared and educated at the expence of the ſtate, and be conſidered as the children of the public, to whoſe ſervice they would conſequently be devoted; and a maritime, commercial nation can never want employment for them. It has been ſaid, that the ſums now annually collected for the poor's rate, under proper management, would be more than ſufficient to maintain the children exceeding the number of three, in all the families in England, whoſe ſituation ſhould require ſuch relief, till the age when they are capable of gaining their livelihood. If we conſider, that the parents themſelves are often thrown upon the pariſh, through the poverty brought on them by providing for large families, and that they are generally incapable of any labour, ſo that they become a dead weight on their reſpective pariſhes, and that the taking a part of their charge from them, while the parents are able to work, will enable them to ſupport themſelves, and prevent a vaſt number of people, in the decline of life, coming upon the pariſh; I am apt to believe the calculation is juſt, and that the amount of the preſent poor's rate would anſwer for the purpoſe propoſed.

PROVIDING diſpenſaries in every trading and manufacturing town in England, under a careful director, for the diſtribution of drugs and medicines, at the price they are ſold by the chemiſts in London, to prevent

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prevent the lower claſs of the people from falling into the hands of ignorant empirics, or being impoveriſhed by hungry apothecaries.

THESE are ſome of the means by which population may be encouraged, and they would coſt leſs than moſt of our charitable foundations, which are not on ſo beneficial a footing for the nation. But if, in this age of diſſipation, ſuch plans cannot be reduced to practice, our laſt reſource muſt be, the introduction of mechanical machines univerſally into our manufactories, of which I ſhall treat at large under the head of manufactures; or a general, or partial NATURALIZATION, in favour of poor huſbandmen, artiſts, and manufacturers, who may be thereby encouraged to leave inhoſpitable countries, to ſettle in this land of freedom, under the benefit of our excellent conſtitution.

"THE moſt expeditious way of increaſing the number of people, keeping down the price of labour, enforcing induſtry, and improving our manufactures, when population decreaſes, is a general naturalization. Nothing, ſurely, can have a better effect in a ſtate where manufacturing hands are wanted, where quantities of land lie uncultivated, or where labour is ſcarce and dear, from the idleneſs and debauchery of the manufacturing populace: for, by opening our arms to foreigners, we ſhould not only improve our own manufactures, but alſo introduce the manufactures of foreigners, with all their arts and improvements; a ſpirit of induſtry and improvement would be created by it, which, beſides unanimity among our governors, in regard to the extenſion and protection of our trade, is all we ſeem to want, to make us the greateſt people in the world.

"A GENERAL naturalization would operate more powerfully and more ſpeedily than any other expedient, towards rendering the ſtate populous, rich, and powerful. Its manufactures would be improved, its commerce extended, and its lands would be cultivated to the higheſt degree of perfection. But ſome have aſſerted, 'that a general naturalization 'might produce ſo great an influx of people, as to render proviſions 'ſo ſcarce and dear, that numbers would be ſtarved.' To this it may be readily replied, that, though proviſions might be rendered dearer, by a great increaſe of people, yet it is morally impoſſible that a famine

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ſhould happen, or that the poor ſhould be ſtarved in a ſtate enriched by extenſive commerce. We have large tracts of land yet uncultivated, and alſo much land not cultivated to its higheſt perfection; their improvement would employ a great number of hands, and produce great quantities of proviſions. Beſides, I can never admit, that the number of people in a ſtate is limited by the produce of the lands, provided the ſtate is enriched by extenſive commerce; the contrary of this is proved by the ſtates of Holland, where the produce of the lands, though they are cultivated at a great expence, and to the higheſt perfection, will not ſupport the inhabitants; and proviſions are imported from other ſtates, in exchange for their manufactures. In order to make room for foreigners, the Dutch have taken in, as it were, another element, and great numbers of them live upon the water.

"It appears that England could never ſuffer by a general naturalization, notwithſtanding it has been ſo violently oppoſed: on the contrary, all ranks and degrees of men muſt be benefited by it. The gentry, the clergy, and the farmer, would be benefited by the improvement of the land. Manufactures would be improved and rendered cheaper; which, of courſe, would encreaſe our foreign trade, and thereby enrich the manufacturer, the broker, and the merchant; and, in conſequence of the great number of ſhips and ſailors conſtantly employed, our naval force would be the terror of our enemies through the world. The goodneſs of our laws would not only bring art and induſtry among us, but many would come and bring great riches with them, if, by a general naturalization, our arms were open to receive them. Employment would be created for every mechanical art; invention would be ſharpened, induſtry enforced, and œconomy would naturally follow. The idle and debauched, who now labour but four days in a week, and riot the other two, might probably complain; but of what? why, that by admitting people more induſtrious than themſelves, they ſhould be obliged to labour ſix days in the week, and live temperate and ſober." *Thoughts on Trade and Commerce*, p. 20.

But, at all events, we muſt put a ſtop to the rage of building more houſes for the ſecond and third claſſes of the people, than there are

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perſons of thoſe claſſes to occupy them; and, by an act of the legiſlature, oblige the landholders, and other builders, to erect a proper number of ſmall tenements, for the conveniency of families of the lower claſſes of the people, who, in proportion to their numbers, even in the preſent declining ſtate of our population, have hardly a ſingle room for each family, much leſs an entire cot. In the capital, this is become a moſt dreadful hardſhip on the poorer ſort of people. The occupiers of houſes, of from twenty to thirty pounds per annum, let them ſcanty apartments, on higher terms than were formerly given for ſmall houſes.

EVERY builder of twenty houſes to be let at from thirty to ſeventy pounds, or more, per annum, ſhould have been obliged to erect four at leaſt, on a contiguous ſpot, at from five to ten pounds per annum, for the conveniency of ſuch poor mechanics and tradeſmen as might fairly be ſuppoſed to be wanted, by the occupiers of the twenty large houſes. On theſe principles all new towns are eſtabliſhed in well-regulated ſtates; and I ſee no reaſon why the ſame polity ſhould not be enforced in the caſe of conſiderable additions to old cities. Time, and the gradual decreaſe of our uſeful hands, will make it abſolutely neceſſary to take ſome of theſe ſteps, to ſecure ſubſiſtence and common conveniencies for induſtrious and labouring families.

WE will now conſider population, as it affects the whole circulation of the inland trade of the kingdom; by which means we ſhall ſee, in a ſtill more conſpicuous light, the neceſſity of watching over every event with a jealous eye, that has the leaſt tendency to a diminution of the numbers of our labouring people.

AN abundance of hands being found for the various branches of huſbandry, whoſe products are all clear profit, being raiſed from the earth and labour, the next thing is, to take care that we have a proportional number of other hands, to tranſport and diſtribute theſe products from place to place, for inland conſumption.

THE farmer muſt not therefore bring up all his ſons to the plough and cart, nor all his daughters to the dairy: we muſt have a due quantity of buyers and ſellers; of retail ſhop-keepers, in every town and village.

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BUT if the people are numerous and induſtrious, and the ſoil fertile, in various kinds of products, there will ſtill be a ſuperfluity for the purpoſes of being improved by art.

OUR population muſt therefore afford us a proportional number of ARTISTS and MANUFACTURERS; and the ſame encouragement muſt be given to theſe orders of men as to huſbandmen and ſhop-keepers.

THE products of the country, either in their native ſtate or manufactured, which are deſtined for foreign conſumption, muſt be tranſported thither in ſhips from an iſland, like Great Britain: a due proportion of another order of people is therefore requiſite; a race of ſeamen.

To furniſh theſe, every manufacturing town in the kingdom ſhould have a college for the maintenance and education of boys for the ſea-ſervice. The number ſhould hold ſome degree of proportion to the value or tonnage of their exports.

A MARITIME ſtate cannot ſupply her mercantile inhabitants with ſeamen. If ſhe means to keep up a reſpectable naval force, for the protection of her commerce, that commerce muſt provide ſeamen for its own operations. Thus there muſt be a duplicate number of mariners in ſuch a ſtate; or, whenever it is in danger from a foreign enemy, government will be obliged to ſubſtitute the greater for the leſſer evil, and ſtagnate commerce for a time, by ſeizing on the ſeamen employed in the merchants ſervice.

THE obvious neceſſity of training up a very conſiderable body of people to the ſea-faring life, in a trading country, naturally leads to another commercial principle.

IN every nation, depending in any reſpect on foreign commerce, fiſheries on its coaſts ſhould meet with the higheſt encouragement, and, next to agriculture, ſhould obtain the ſanction of government, were it for no other reaſon, but, becauſe this branch of inland trade will furniſh us with ſeamen, and afford a ſucceſſive ſupply of theſe uſeful ſubjects.

BESIDES which, it is to be conſidered, that what is gained from the ſea by fiſheries is ſo much clear profit added to the produce of the ſoil, and brings along with it an increaſe of proviſions; and in proportion to its

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its abundance, it must cause a greater superfluity of the other necessaries of life; some of which, as grain in particular, are articles of commerce.

Various have been the attempts to reduce this principle to practice, with a degree of success equal to the importance of the object; but they have all failed, through a variety of causes, the chief of which has been a pernicious monopoly, which has defeated every patriotic plan for putting the fishery on our coasts on a respectable footing.

Lastly, the state will occasionally want a military force for its defence; for this likewise provision must be made in the number of the inhabitants of a commercial country; so that the supplies for this purpose may not prejudice agriculture, arts, and manufactures, the vitals of the kingdom.

Having now considered population in every point of view, as a commercial and political principle, I have only one remark to add.

If we have any jealousies or fears about a general or a partial naturalization, the former of which, notwithstanding all that has been advanced in its favour, is a remedy not to be applied, but in cases of extreme necessity, we must stop the progress of depopulation while it is yet in our power.

The principal means have been noticed, in as concise a manner as possible; and it is humbly recommended to the wisdom of administration, and to the humanity, candour, and true patriotism of all orders of men amongst us, possessed of landed or commercial property, to examine them with attention, and if they are found to be just and reasonable, to adopt them without loss of time.

ON

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ON MANUFACTURES.

THE next principle to render commerce flouriſhing is, to eſtabliſh and ſupport MANUFACTURES.

THE real wants of mankind are confined within ſuch narrow bounds, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, corn, and (for want of that) roots, fruits, water, milk, fleſh, fowl, and fiſh, with the ſkins of animals; and ſuch inſtruments, to prepare theſe, for their ſeveral uſes, as the moſt ſimple arts furniſhed in the ſtate of nature; have always been conſidered as quite ſufficient to ſatisfy all their natural neceſſities.

BUT as mankind increaſed, and formed themſelves into regular ſocieties, imaginary wants multiplied with them, and new deſires gave birth to new arts; and to ſuch in particular, as tended to gratify theſe imaginary wants; all included at firſt, under the denomination of the conveniencies of life; but which being in proceſs of time varied and multiplied *ad infinitum*, became at length to be more generally ſtiled, the luxuries and elegancies of life.

THIS is a conciſe, but juſt account of the origin of MANUFACTURES, under which head are compriſed every branch of the mechanic, and polite arts, however the latter may have been dignified and diſtinguiſhed by the ambition of princes and great men, who have taken a fooliſh pride in patronizing them, in preference to the former; or by the vanity of their profeſſors, who have moſt commonly gloried more in an empty title, an honourable diſtinction in courts, an idle rank and precedence in academies, and the proſpect of a pompous, monumental inſcription, than in acquiring the general eſteem of their fellow-citizens, by ſhaking off this falſe pride, and reducing their rank and manner

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manner of life more on a level with the maſs of reputable tradeſmen; by which means they might afford their deſirable productions at a moderate rate, and not make their profeſſions detrimental, inſtead of beneficial, to a commercial ſtate; which they certainly do, when they impoſe a moſt exorbitant price on the imaginary wants of mankind, that they may be enabled to live like nabobs, and to aſſociate with the princes and nobles of the land.

A MANUFACTURER I underſtand to be, any perſon who, by the labour of his hands, with or without the aid of implements and machines, gives a new form to, or meliorates, or improves, the natural products of the earth; and, if this definition be juſt, then, in the diviſion of the ſeveral claſſes of citizens, which every wiſe government ought to obſerve, the members even of a royal academy of polite artiſts ſhould not hold any ſuperior rank in life to the mechanic artiſts and manufacturers; who, in a commercial kingdom, as they are the moſt uſeful, ſhould be conſidered, if any difference is made, as the moſt honourable members of ſuch a community. Annual premiums may be thought the only proper encouragement ſuited to the genius and ſtation of the profeſſors of the moſt uſeful arts, which, becauſe they are common, are called vulgar: but experience proves the contrary---a title, or ſome other honorary diſtinction, viſible to the eyes of the world, has been known to produce wonders amongſt rival manufacturers. The Chineſe furniſh an example---who confer the honour of a mandarine, or noble of the ninth claſs, on manufacturers and mechanic artiſts.

SHOULD our moſt gracious ſovereign have the ſame glorious deſign in view, in conſtituting the order of MERIT, ſo much talked of, it will immortaliſe its royal founder.

THE fabricator of the beſt woollen or linen cloth, with reſpect to the goodneſs of its quality, in proportion to its price, will then find himſelf diſtinguiſhed by his ſovereign; and if he is in affluent circumſtances, ſuch an honour will have happier effects than pecuniary rewards. In a word, the ſupreme governor of a commercial people, who ſhould paſs through the whole circle of the uſeful arts, and annually diſtribute ſome coveted token of royal favour, in every part of his dominions with the ſame diſcretion, would be almoſt adored by his beſt ſubjects.

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Popularity would ſeat him in the triumphal car; he would be juſtly ſtiled, "The well-beloved"---and faction would expire at his feet.

We have ſaid, that MANUFACTURES, or the arts which depend on induſtrious ſkill and labour, give a new form to, or meliorate and improve the natural products of the earth; they are the objects then of all MANUFACTURES; and the elements, with the aid of men and other animals, are the means of carrying them on. I might have added, machines; but as theſe are conſtructed by men, they are properly included in the aid furniſhed by them.

It will now be proper to demonſtrate the effects of MANUFACTURES, with reſpect to the body-politic; after which I ſhall point out the principles on which they muſt be eſtabliſhed and conducted in every ſtate, to ſecure the enjoyment of theſe effects, and to render them permanent.

In the firſt place, a manufacturing nation will procure from its domains, a greater quantity of natural products than one that has no manufactures.

Secondly, The cultivation of theſe products will require a greater number of inhabitants.

Thirdly, the art of giving new forms, or improving them, will furniſh an increaſe of employment, and of the means of convenient ſubſiſtence, to a much larger body of the people.

Fourthly, The productions of this art becoming univerſally known and eſteemed, foreign nations, not poſſeſſed of the ſame advantages, and conſidering them as the means of increaſing the enjoyments of life, will be ſtimulated by ideal wants, to require them as real neceſſities.

Fifthly, As the manufacturing art has given an additional value to the products of nature, and foreign nations cannot gratify their deſire of obtaining them but by an exchange of commodities with the manufacturing people, or, in lieu thereof, by giving the full value of the manufactures in money; it follows, that the manufacturing people will receive more in natural products, or ſpecie, than they gave; by which a balance of commerce muſt accrue to them, and their relative riches be thereby increaſed.

Sixthly, Natural products, or the precious metals, which are made the common medium of commercial exchanges, and the means

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of procuring the neceſſaries and comforts of life, being more abundant in a manufacturing country, emigrations of uſeful people will take place from other countries, and, provided no impolitic law prohibits it, a new acceſſion of induſtrious inhabitants will be acquired, who will come in ſearch of the eaſe and plenty which induſtry, properly encouraged and directed, is ſure to procure.

SEVENTHLY, The number of citizens multiplying inceſſantly in a manufacturing kingdom, will render it ſtronger, and better able to defend itſelf againſt foreign enemies, than a nation where no manufactures ſubſiſt.

IT is an old political maxim, that the riches and ſtrength of a nation conſiſt in the number of inhabitants; but this, like many other ſhort proverbial rules, requires a free illuſtration. The quality and condition of the maſs of inhabitants, and the manner in which they are employed muſt be determined, before the maxim is admitted without exception; for ſurely no man will pretend that a country will be either the richer or the ſtronger, that ſwarms with drunken, idle, debauched, debilitated, or ſickly inhabitants.

"A COUNTRY of ſoldiers," ſays a writer of late date*, "with all their "ideas of high importance, could only exiſt, like a banditti, on the "plunder of their neighbours. Rome had no ſooner conquered the "world than ſhe began to loſe it again; and the empire of Macedon "became broken as ſoon as the eſtabliſher of it died. What a nation "of mere ſoldiers are, we at preſent ſee by the Turks; and the like "will become experienced by the nations of Barbary. But the "induſtrious and populous empires of China and Japan have been "alike proſperous and durable.

"WITH his vaſt extent of territory, the grand ſultan, whoſe ſup"plies of every kind are exacted from oppreſſed, harraſſed, ſtarving, "and depopulated provinces, may be pronounced a feeble potentate, "though his country is naturally fruitful. But the Venetians and "Dutch, with ſmall portions of land, have each, in their turns, been

* Conſiderations on the Policy, Commerce, and Circumſtances of the Kingdom. London; printed for J. Almon, 1770.

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" very powerful ſtates, from the proportional great numbers, induſtry, " and opulence of their people.

" THUS, from falſe policy, the immenſe and fertile empire of " Turky has been turning into a deſart, while, from true policy, the " naturally inſignificant and ſcanty ſwamps of Venice and Holland were " improving into crowded hives of uſeful and wealthy people. It is " true the condition of theſe commonwealths has become altered, " though not in an equal degree, from the tendency there is in all " kinds of governments to corruption and abuſe. Venice has been " greatly weakened by the abuſe of ariſtocratic power, which is too " apt to prove miſchievous; and the form of government has, in " effect, been changed from democratic to ariſtocratic in Holland, " from the influence of wealth among a part of the people, which has " enabled them, in too great a degree, to make a property of their " country. Yet, even in their preſent condition, no doubt can be " entertained, that, conjunctively, theſe two little countries would " prove much an over-match for the vaſt Ottoman empire, by means " of their naval force, and commercial reſources for the hire of mer- " cenary armies, were the other powers of Europe to be neutral on " the occaſion."

THE ſame reaſoning will hold good with reſpect to a country where too great a proportion of the inhabitants are perſons of independent fortune; ſuch as nobility and gentry, who are mere conſumers, but neither contribute to the cultivation of the natural products of the earth, nor to the improvement of them by the manual exerciſe of any art. A country overſtocked with ſuch claſſes of inhabitants muſt grow poor and feeble, inſtead of rich and powerful.

" LAND and labour together are the ſources of all wealth: without " a competency of land, there would be no ſubſiſtence, and but a " very poor and uncomfortable one without labour; ſo that wealth, " or riches, conſiſt either in a property in land, or in the products of " land and labour."

BUT in countries where manufactures and commerce flouriſh, the value of labour will always be much greater than that of the land.

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"THUS the annual produce of labour in England is of much "greater value than the rents of the land; but their exact proportion "to each other cannot eaſily be aſſigned. It is commonly ſuppoſed "that a farmer, to live comfortably, muſt make three rents of his "land; and when we conſider the coarſeneſs of thoſe commodities "that are commonly expended in a farmer's houſe, in compariſon of "many others conſumed by thoſe of more affluent fortunes, the "value of labour to that of land muſt be with us more than two to "one."

"WOOL wrought into cloth is much advanced in its value. Thread "may be of one hundred times the value of the flax whereof it is made. "The value of the materials in watches, and innumerable other things "made of metals, is but ſmall in compariſon of the value of the work-"manſhip."

"THE balance-ſpring in a good watch is worth more than a million "times the value of the ſteel of which it is made *."

THESE illuſtrations are ſufficient to confirm the beneficial effects of arts and manufactures.

WE muſt now unfold the principles on which manufactories muſt be eſtabliſhed, in order to attain all thoſe deſirable ends, and to ſecure them in a permanent ſtate.

AND here a number of different objects, all of equal importance, demand our cloſe attention.

THE firſt care of a wiſe adminiſtration, when any ingenious perſon or perſons propoſe the eſtabliſhment of a new manufacture, muſt be, to examine ſtrictly into the nature of the art or work itſelf, and to determine if it will be of general utility, and likely to be the object of univerſal deſire; for unleſs it will anſwer the purpoſes of commerce, by producing a ſuperfluity beyond the demand for home-conſumption, it will be found too inconſiderable and trifling, in a maritime commercial ſtate, to be intitled to the ſanction and protection of government; and it might even prove prejudicial to the true intereſts of ſuch a nation,

* Eſſay upon Money and Coins; Part i. *article*, the Theory of Commerce. London, printed for G. Hawkins, 1757.

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to grant the requiſite encouragements to ſuch an eſtabliſhment; as will appear when we treat of the duties on importation, and the prohibitions neceſſarily laid on ſimilar foreign manufactures, to favour the progreſs of a rival art at home.

If, on a ſtrict ſcrutiny, the manufacture propoſed to be eſtabliſhed is not liable to the foregoing exception, the next point will be to aſcertain the facility of procuring the firſt materials, (eſpecially if they are not the natural produce of the country): the price to be given for them, the coſt of tools, implements, food, labour in manufacturing the commodity, and incidental contingencies, with the value of the time employed in the fabrication, muſt be all nicely calculated. The value ſet on the manufacture muſt neceſſarily be equal to all theſe charges. What it ſells for above this price is the manufacturer's profit; and there muſt ſtill be room left for another gain to be made by the tradeſman who vends it for home-conſumption, or the merchant who exports it. If it will bear theſe advances, it is worth national encouragement.

But if, after all, a cheaper or better commodity for the ſame price can be imported from a foreign country, with which we have commercial intercourſe, even though a high duty is paid on importation, it is the heighth of folly to countenance ſuch a manufacture; for it will be detrimental to the ſtate.

I have one manufacture in my view which ſeems to approach nearly to that point: I mean that of thread-lace.

As this matter has ſtood for many years, a duty of fifteen pence per yard is payable on all thread-lace imported from abroad, without diſtinction: the moſt abſurd duty that ever was laid. In a pair of Bruſſels point lace ruffles for gentlemen, there are three yards; the value may be thirty, forty, or fifty guineas, yet they pay no more than four ſhillings duty on importation. For theſe, and other rich ſorts, the product of the Auſtrian Netherlands, there is a great demand in England; therefore this idle duty is chearfully paid. To add to this ridiculous tranſaction, they are now ſo well imitated in England, that a celebrated dealer in London, knowing our fooliſh fondneſs for any thing foreign, has

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has ſent them into that country, ordered them home again, paid this trifling duty, and ſold them as Bruſſels lace to great advantage. If theſe then were abſolutely prohibited, our manufacturers in this branch would be properly ſupported.

On the contrary, the price of materials, of labour and of proviſions, render it impoſſible for our manufacturers to equal the low-priced laces made in Flanders, the conſumption of which is very great for womens uſes. On an edging, which is fabricated for eight pence per yard in Flanders, the ſame duty is impoſed by the Britiſh legiſlature, as on a lace of ten guineas value per yard. The conſequence is, the ſmuggling into this kingdom immenſe quantities of low-priced Flanders lace, which lies in a ſmall compaſs; and, for half a guinea you may have a box brought over, worth two hundred pounds.

I had the honour to lay this affair before the late right honourable George Grenville, when at the head of the treaſury; but, to my great concern, he aſſured me, it could not be remedied, the revenue ariſing from this duty being long ſince appropriated.

The miſchievous conſequences of theſe appropriations ſhall be ſhewn in the treatiſe on the elements of finances.

The effect of laying on this duty was, that the Flemiſh government juſtly conſidered it as a violation of the barrier treaty of 1715, by which a tariff, for the regulation of duties between Holland, Flanders, and England, was ſettled, and agreed not to be altered but by the conſent of the three contracting parties. As we began, they concluded, by breaking almoſt every article of the treaty, both with reſpect to commercial and political objects.

They raiſed their duties on the following articles to ſuch a degree, as almoſt amounted to a prohibition, and has in a great meaſure deprived us of a moſt advantageous commerce with that country: on tobacco, ſugar, ſalt, woollen cloths, particularly white plains, for the regimentals of their troops, worſted ſtuffs, crockery ware, paper-hangings, &c. and thus we loſt great part of a moſt valuable branch of trade, the returns for which were chiefly made in ſpecie, for the ſake of ſelling low-priced thread-laces of our own manufacture to our ladies,

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on worſe terms than they might have been imported, and an advantageous exchange have been made for them, of our ſtaple manufactures.

THE trade to Flanders ought to be more encouraged, and ſome attempts made to revive it. Inſtead of five veſſels paſſing and repaſſing between London and Oſtend in a year, by rotation, we might have fifty, if we were not too tenacious in ſome commercial points, and too indolent and inattentive in others.

THE goodneſs of the quality of manufactures, when compared with the ſame ſpecie and price, the product of foreign competitors, and the proſpect of a demand for it, ſhould be the guides to government in giving ſanction to ſuch eſtabliſhments.

WHEN the ſcrutiny I have recommended proves ſatisfactory, then, as a commercial nation ſhould manufacture every natural produce of the country, that cannot be conſumed in its native ſtate at home, (for, if exported unmanufactured, the additional value from labour is loſt, and the induſtrious poor wanting employment, population will naturally decreaſe,) it will be proper, in the next place, to determine the ſituation of MANUFACTORIES.

THIS ſhould always be as near to navigable rivers, and to high roads, as poſſible, for the facility of conveying to them the firſt materials, and ſecondary aids, and of tranſporting the fabricated commodities to the great inland towns for home-conſumption, or to the ſea-ports for exportation.

WHERE nature has denied theſe advantages, art muſt be employed to ſupply the defect, eſpecially when fuel and proviſions are not to be found in plenty on the ſpot, moſt proper in other reſpects for eſtabliſhing a manufactory. In this, and all other caſes, the ancient commercial principle muſt be applied. Navigable canals muſt be made, and eaſy communications from county to county, and to the coaſts of the kingdom, muſt be opened, or the eſtabliſhment will never be conſiderable.

THIS principle lay dormant for many ages in this country, without the leaſt attempt being made to introduce ſo beneficial an aid to the manufacturing intereſt of this country; nor muſt we be ſurprized at this, conſidering

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conſidering the very few commercial authors of repute in England, and that even theſe are ſilent upon this important ſubject. Yet one would have imagined, that the prodigious advantage of navigable canals in Holland and Flanders, but eſpecially in the latter, would have tempted ſome curious Britiſh traveller, or ſome able miniſter, reſiding at the courts of Bruſſels and the Hague, to have recommended to their native country the purſuit of the ſame plan.

The navigable canal from Oſtend, at half a league from the harbour, with which it communicates by two remarkable locks, through an extent of country no leſs than thirty-ſix miles in length, and branching out into a number of ſmaller communications on the way, with different towns; is a moſt ſtupendous work of art, and will probably remain the only monument of the ſound policy of the Flemiſh government for ages to come. By this, and other canals, they rendered the tranſport of coals and wood eaſy, and almoſt put a ſtop to the importation of Engliſh coals at the port of Oſtend, the charleroy coals being delivered from the inland country, even to the towns and villages bordering on their coaſts; and, by the ſame means, their internal trade is continued in a flouriſhing condition, though they have loſt almoſt all their foreign commerce, the Flemiſh navigation being reduced to ſo low an ebb, that their merchant-ſhips are obliged to ſail under Dutch colours, and to procure Mediterranean paſſports from the admiralty of Holland, to protect them from the Turks.

If, in this declining ſtate of commerce, inland trade and manufactures can ſtill derive a conſiderable profit from navigable canals, what may not be expected from them in all parts of England, where they are practicable, at a time when the extenſive ſettlements of Great Britain in America, occaſion ſuch amazing demands for our moſt valuable manufactures; the abundance, quality, and low price of which, muſt depend ſo much on every facility of tranſport that can be given, to the materials of which they are compoſed, to the neceſſaries of life requiſite for the fabricators, and to the manufacture itſelf, for exportation, when completed.

The difference of the charge of tranſporting merchandiſe in waggons, or by water, may be eaſily aſcertained by taking the prices of each on a

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bale of woollen goods, from Colcheſter to London, to which there is a double communication, by land and water; and it will always be ſtill greater in proportion between the water-carriage, by means of canals croſſing countries, and opening communications with ſea-ports, to which there was no acceſs by land, but by croſs roads and long journies.

THE noble, ſpirited enterprize, therefore, of his Grace the Duke of Bridgwater, ought to endear him to his country. Statues and public honours muſt receive an additional value when beſtowed on ſuch general benefactors to mankind; but even theſe will ever fall ſhort of the grateful acclamations of an induſtrious people, whoſe arts, manufactures and trade, are improved by ſuch undertakings. The free, unbought, univerſal applauſe of his fellow-citizens muſt give ſuch a true patriot more real ſatisfaction than all the pageant diſtinctions of a court. In a very ſhort time this great man will have the pleaſure of ſeeing his navigation through Lancaſhire and Cheſhire completed, and a very beneficial communication opened with the flouriſhing port of Leverpool; after which, he will cut a water carriage between the manufacturing towns of Manchester and Stockport. I mention theſe great works becauſe they are ſo capital, and that the Duke was the reviver of this principle of commerce; but I do not mean to with-hold from their juſt ſhare of public praiſe thoſe worthy noblemen and gentlemen who have made, and ſtill continue to make, the ſame improvements in other counties. Let me add, that theſe undertakings are admirably well timed; for the decreaſe of hands, the dearneſs of proviſions, the high price of draught horſes, and of forage to keep them, are circumſtances which enhance the benefits to be derived from navigable canals, and, render them more peculiarly advantageous at this time, to our manufacturing counties.

ANOTHER point reſpecting the ſituation of new manufactories, is to chuſe places as remote as poſſible from overgrown, luxurious, inland capitals, where pleaſures and extravagance have gained the aſcendant; for if a manufactory be ſet on foot in their neighbourhood, the workmen will be debauched, and become indolent, exorbitant, imbecile, and

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and unprofitable. Regard ſhould likewiſe be had to the ſtate of population in the country round about, that the new eſtabliſhment may not ſuffer from the ſcarcity of hands, or an impoſſibility to procure them on reaſonable terms: where there are a great number of poor unemployed, or not fully occupied, of a ſober diſpoſition, and healthy, there, a manufactory is moſt likely to ſucceed.

The claſhing of intereſts ſhould likewiſe particularly be avoided, as well as the partialities of enthuſiaſm, and other prejudices. To ſet up a manufactory in oppoſition to another already eſtabliſhed on the ſame ſpot, of which no well-founded complaints are made, and where two ſuch enterprizes cannot poſſibly ſucceed, is ungenerous and diſhonourable in the new undertakers, and as hazardous on the part of the managers, as it is impolitic on the part of government to countenance ſuch rivalry, which may be the deſtruction of both, and annihilate the art or manufacture entirely. It would be equally improper for a member of the church of England to fix his new undertaking in the center of a large body of diſſenters, ſuch as the quakers of Philadelphia, or the preſbyterians of New England; and as abſurd in one of their people to eſtabliſh a new undertaking in Maryland, or any Romiſh ſettlement, in preference to places inhabited by people of his own opinion; for though a general regard to the proſperity of commerce, and the encouragement of ingenuity, might prevail over the narrow notions of bigotry, yet the manufacturer would find many obſtacles, ariſing from the different ſentiments of all the ſervants employed under him, and might be aſſured of the firſt opportunity being taken to ſeduce them, and eſtabliſh one of their own profeſſion in the ſame branch. The hiſtories of every country in the habitable world, and the memoirs even of particular counties and provinces in the ſame kingdom, ſupport the truth of this obſervation by melancholy evidences.

One would imagine it needleſs to mention the precaution of adverting to the ſalubrity of the air, when we ſpeculate the ſituation of extenſive undertakings, in which a great number of people are to be employed; but the inſtances we have on record of valuable eſtabliſhments failing, to the utter ruin of the undertakers, and the loſs of many lives,

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owing ſolely to the making choice of unhealthy ſpots, ſometimes through ignorance, and at others through parſimony, obliges me to cloſe this head with recommending this conſideration to all proprietors of new commercial eſtabliſhments.

Our next object is, the firſt materials of arts and manufactures.

There is an œconomy in the domeſtic police of France, with reſpect to her manufactures, in which ſhe gains a ſuperiority over us. Her principal manufactures are fabrications from her own products, and ſhe chiefly conſumes her own manufactures; whereas, in England, the rage of faſhion inclines us to the conſumption of foreign manufactures, and ſome of our own valuable ones are wrought from foreign materials.

This laſt circumſtance is a great diſadvantage to any manufacture; for ſuppoſing your government to be at war with the country from whence you draw the firſt materials for your manufacture, or that, for commercial reaſons, they forbid the export of them; the manufacture, in theſe caſes, will be either ſo enhanced in price, from ſcarcity, that it will neither ſell at home, nor at foreign markets; or it will be totally demoliſhed. This happened to the woollen manufactures in the low countries, when the Engliſh parliament firſt put a ſtop to the exportation of wool.

It is then a fixed principle of commerce, with reſpect to manufactures, that, to render their eſtabliſhment complete, profitable, and permanent, the firſt materials ſhould be found at home. And,

On this principle, we cannot give too great rewards for the cultivation of ſilk, flax, and madder, in any part of the Britiſh dominions.

It is ſtrangely impolitic to ſuffer ſo important a branch of our commerce, as the linen manufactory, to be dependent on foreign nations for its firſt materials. I tremble at the bare idea of a prohibition laid in foreign ſtates, on the exportation of flax and flax-ſeed. Were this to happen, how we ſhould curſe our folly for having employed ſo much of our land for the feeding of race-horſes, hunters, poſt-chaiſe horſes, and others, for exportation, which might, in that caſe, reduce us to the want of ſhirts.

Some-

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SOMETHING has been done towards cultivating flax, and madder, for the uſe of the dyers, through the aſſiſtance given by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, both at home, and in our colonies; but this important point is not ſo generally attended to as it merits.

ANOTHER principle invariably to be attended to in a manufacturing country is, not to impoſe any importation-duty on the firſt materials for arts and manufactures; for, having already obſerved the diſadvantages of being obliged to get them from abroad, we muſt not add another weight to increaſe the difficulty.

IT may even ſometimes be politic to give a bounty on the importation of the firſt materials of manufactures; as in the article of INDIGO, for the uſe of the dyers, on which the Britiſh parliament granted a bounty in 1749, but limited it to the produce of our colonies.

THE firſt materials for arts and manufactures ſhould likewiſe be free from all cuſtoms, inland taxes, and exciſes.

THE eſtabliſhment of ſome very capital manufactures on the continent has been owing entirely to theſe exemptions from cuſtoms and exciſes; ſuch immunities being the firſt advantages ſollicited for by the proprietors of new undertakings, and conſtantly granted for a term of years by France, Germany, Pruſſia, and Dantzick.

BURTHENSOME taxes and exciſes are the greateſt diſcouragements imaginable to arts and manufactures; they ruin ſmall eſtabliſhments, commenced with ſlender ſtocks, drawing too heavy deductions in ready money from the manufacturer's little fund, to provide for ſuch payments, beſides maintaining a number of officers to collect them, who live on the labours of the induſtrious, who deſerve all the encouragement that can be given them, and ought to enjoy a kind of eaſe and ſatisfaction ſuited to their ſtations; which cannot be the caſe while rack-rents, exciſes on the materials of their work, taxes on proviſions, and pariſh-rates, ſo entirely abſorb their profits, that they have no proſpect of getting before-hand in the world, or even of leaving their children in the ſame ſituation of life, after many years paſſed in toilſome occupations. "Exorbitant taxes," ſays Mr. Hume, "like extreme neceſſity, de-

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" ſtroy induſtry, by engendering deſpair;" and I am ſorry to ſay, that whoever will take the pains to look over the liſt of our taxes and exciſes, will find, that by much too great a proportion, both in number and amount, fall upon the moſt valuable part of the ſubjects, the labouring people, who are the leaſt able to bear them. The exciſes on ſoap, candles, beer, and ſeveral other articles, too many indeed to enumerate in this place, as we muſt reſume this ſubject in another place, are of this number.

BUT beſides the exemptions from theſe burdens, for a certain number of years, our great rivals, the French, give encouragements to new manufactories, which it would be deemed madneſs to propoſe to our treaſury-board; however, they have produced ſuch great effects, that I muſt mention the principal, for which I am indebted to the unknown author of *Thoughts on Trade and Commerce* *.

" IT has been obſerved, and I believe with great truth, that whenever France has attempted to eſtabliſh any new manufacture, it has " ſpared no coſt to encourage manufacturing hands to come and live " there. A remarkable inſtance of this we find in Languedoc about " the year 1675. The ſieur de Varenne having brought workmen " from Holland, undertook to make cloth for the Levant trade, and " eſtabliſhed a very conſiderable manufactory; that of Clerment and " Lodeve followed ſoon after. The ſtates of Languedoc lent them " 130,000 livres for many years, without intereſt, and gave them beſides, by way of bounty, a piſtole for every piece of fine cloth made " there.

" IT is remarkable, that the meaneſt trade in France is under ſome " wiſe regulation, and that the artiſts and manufacturers are laid " under a neceſſity of excelling in their reſpective employments, and " none are admitted to the freedom of their trading companies, without actually making a piece of goods, and being examined upon " oath.

" BUT, farther to ſhew the great encouragement given by the " French to the woollen manufactories, I ſhall here mention what

* London, printed for S. Hooper, 1770.

Lewis

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" Lewis XIV. did at Abbeville. He lent one Robais, a Dutchman, " 40,000 livres, without intereſt, in order that he might eſtabliſh " a manufactory for ſuperfine broad-cloths. The king alſo erected " him a ſpacious and commodious place to carry it on, and a fine houſe " to live in, and granted him a patent for twenty years; and Robais " being a proteſtant, Lewis alſo granted him another patent, renewable " every twenty years, for the free exerciſe of his religion, for himſelf, " family, and all the people employed under him in this manufactory. " The king himſelf wore ſome of the firſt cloth that was made, and " ordered all his court to do the ſame; and we are informed, that all " theſe privileges are maintained, to this day, inviolably, and that the " manufactory is at this time carried on by three nephews to the old " Robais, who firſt eſtabliſhed it.

" THERE are an hundred and eight broad looms employed in this " place, and about ſix hundred perſons, men, women, and children."

THIS extract, and what has paſſed under my own obſervation with reſpect to the conduct of the court of Vienna, leads me to conſider the neceſſity of preventing the ſeduction of manufacturers, as another point of the utmoſt conſequence to a trading nation.

THE ſeduction of artiſts and manufacturers to leave their native country, and practice their art and ſkill in foreign nations, ſhould be puniſhed by death with reſpect to the ſeducers, and outlawry, with confiſcation of effects remaining in the country they deſert, with reſpect to the fugitives themſelves.

THE clandeſtine exportation (for a legal one cannot be ſuppoſed) of the firſt materials for manufactures, or of the tools, implements, or machines of arts, ſhould be ſubject to the ſame penal laws, without the leaſt mitigation.

THE want of obſerving theſe principles has been the occaſion of our loſing many of our manufactures, and, with them, a conſiderable part of our foreign trade.

I WILL only inſtance a few accidents of this ſort, of late date.

THE art of making plate-glaſs was ſtolen from us, and eſtabliſhed at Copenhagen, through the villainy of a Middleſex juſtice of the peace, who fled his country upon the occaſion.

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A FUGITIVE for debt from Mancheſter has carried the cotton-velvet manufacture to the ſouth of France.

THE woollen manufacture is riſing again from its ruins in Auſtrian Flanders; inſomuch that they make broad-cloths, worth one guinea per yard, owing to the ſmuggling cutters carrying wool to the Flemiſh coaſts, to barter for tea and geneva.

THE paper-hanging branch has lately been introduced there, with all the neceſſary tools and implements, directly from the river Thames.

ONE Murray, a native of this country, and formerly manager of the copperas works at Deptford, has likewiſe eſtabliſhed at Villvorde, near Bruſſels, a manufactory for making oil of vitriol and aqua-fortis. The profit is ſo conſiderable, and the undertaking ſo great, that the Flemiſh government is principally concerned with him; and we have loſt the trade to Holland, France, and Flanders, for theſe great articles uſed by the dyers, and other artiſts.

THE Bow and Chelſea china, and Staffordſhire-ware manufactories, have had numbers of hands ſeduced, now ſettled at Tournay in Flanders.

THE hard-ware branches have been pilfered from time to time, and workmen, with their tools, conveyed as far as Vienna.

IT would tire you to mention all the ſeductions of this ſort, and the voluntary emigrations of our deluded countrymen, that fell within my knowledge, while I had the honour to ſerve the King. I did my duty; I repreſented them home, and my conduct was approved; I had the thanks of the Treaſury, and of the ſecretaries of ſtate, predeceſſors to Lord Weymouth, from 1763 to 1768. The copies of theſe documents I have ſtill by me, particularly a letter from the right honourable General Conway, on my ſending home reclaimed manufacturers from Tournay.

SUCH encouragement ſhould always be given to artiſts and manufacturers in a trading country, as they cannot poſſibly receive from home. In that caſe, you may loſe a few individuals, either through misfortunes, ſuch as flight for debt, &c. or a preſent, partial advantage; but families, and bodies of uſeful artiſts and manufacturers, will not quit their native country, if properly protected and rewarded for their honeſt induſtry.

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ONE article of this encouragement ſhould ever be, to proportion their wages to the advantages derived from their labour.

THIS rule is inhumanly tranſgreſſed in many branches of arts, manufactures, and trade, in England, to the great diſgrace of the maſters.

IN ſome, the wages given to workmen, and to ſervants, are not equal to what is ſettled for them by law, in ſeveral well-regulated ſtates on the continent, where all the neceſſaries of life are cheaper than in England; nor are they ſubject to ſuch oppreſſions and ſubjection in the moſt deſpotic countries, as in this land of liberty: while, on the other hand, there are branches of the uſeful arts and trades, in which the ſervants are ſuffered to combine againſt the maſters with impunity, and often gain a complete victory over them, by preſcribing and impoſing their own conditions for their labour.

BOTH theſe extremes ſhould be carefully avoided. It is the greateſt reproach imaginable to our internal police, that inſtances of theſe falſe principles in the conduct of our manufacturing and trading intereſts can be produced; and it is the more extraordinary, as we do not want laws, or prudent regulations, to prevent theſe evils; but the misfortune is, that they are become obſolete, partly through the indolence and venality of the magiſtracy, and partly through the jealous, monopolizing, ſelfiſh, and, I may ſay, diſhoneſt ſpirit of ſome great manufacturers and tradeſmen.

THE very low wages of labourers in agriculture, and of ſome workmen in the hard-ware branches, compared with the prodigious profits on huſbandry and thoſe manufactures, have been frequently complained of. We have been lately alarmed with the inſurrections of miners, coal-heavers, weavers, and other labourers, and we have alſo ſeen combinations of journeymen in the metropolis, fixing their own prices, and ſtagnating particular branches of trade till their demands were complied with. Whenever theſe events happen, clear, ample, and deciſive laws ſhould be enacted by the legiſlature of a powerful, trading nation, to prevent the poſſibility of a repetition of the ſame diſorderly proceedings, by protecting one party againſt the oppreſſive weight of cruelty and avarice; and by guarding the other, againſt unwarrantable, mercenary extortions.

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THE puniſhment, for inſtance, cannot well be too ſevere for a maſter in any art or trade, who, to undermine his competitor, will fraudulently give bounties, premiums, or rewards to workmen, over and above the ſtated prices of their labour, in order to ſeduce them from another, and engroſs their ſkill and induſtry.

A WORKMAN who cabals, and privately conſpires with others, to exact other terms than thoſe eſtabliſhed by law or cuſtom, ſhould ſuffer equally a very rigorous chaſtiſement. But effectual regulations of this kind will never take place, till all partiality and ignorance is removed from the ſeats of legiſlation and juſtice; in fine, till the moſt reputable, diſintereſted merchants are called upon to arbitrate theſe matters, and ſettle them yearly to the ſatisfaction of all parties, as was the caſe in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and her ſucceſſor James I.

As it ſhould be an abſolute principle to keep every work of art up to its ſtandard, with reſpect to its reputed quality, though the price may vary, the puniſhment of DEATH ſhould be inflicted on all perſons affixing marks or ſtamps, which denote ſuperior excellence, on commodities of inferior quality; and goods exported, or delivered for home-conſumption, by any reputed meaſure or weight in the groſs, proving deficient, ſhould be returned for account of the maker, after burning a ſample in the public market-place of the town it came from, and proclaiming the maker to be a common cheat, and an enemy to the trade of his country.

I WOULD not be ſo ſevere, if I did not know that ſhort meaſure, defective breadths, inferior qualities given for ſuperior, and counterfeit names, marks, and ſtamps, have done more miſchief to ſome branches of our foreign trade, than even our pernicious taxes on its inland operations, which have raiſed their price above their intrinſic worth, compared with the produce of other countries.

HERE again we are ſorry to obſerve, that our rivals, the French, exceed us in their internal œconomy, with reſpect to the uſeful arts and manufactures.

THEY conſider the credit of the nation as deeply intereſted in the integrity of its fabricators and artiſts; and therefore they puniſh very rigorouſly

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rigorouſly all frauds and impoſitions in their ſtaple manufactures, and the proſecutions for counterfeit marks and ſtamps are criminal; theſe matters being ſubject to the juriſdiction of the police; ſo that it is very rare to find an inſtance of ſuch frauds in France, becauſe the ſtate makes it an object of public concern; whereas in England it is only a ſuit in equity. Thus, if the king of Great Britain grants a patent to a ſubject for a particular invention, and another counterfeits it, and even makes uſe of his name, ſtamp, and coat of arms, the injured party is redreſſed at common law, by a verdict awarding pecuniary damages; but the government never conſiders the injury ſuſtained by the public, in the ſale of a counterfeit work of art or ingenuity, of inferior quality.

YET, in another caſe of property, it is a capital offence to forge a name or mark, though the injury done to an individual, or to the ſtate, in counterfeiting a note of hand for money, is not equal to that of putting falſe ſtamps and marks on manufactures deficient in quantity, and inferior in quality, to thoſe they are intended to repreſent.

THE care taken in the manufacturing of ſtuffs of every kind has been the means of increaſing that branch of foreign commerce in France; and it is remarkable, that they rather exceed the given breadths and lengths, than fall ſhort of them, which is the complaint againſt ours. The coarſer ſort of ſtuffs made at Norwich, Coventry, and Spittalfields, generally fall ſhort of both; many of our Mancheſter goods are ſhamefully deficient; and, of late years, the Iriſh are falling into a deficiency with reſpect to the lengths of their linens. The Dutch and Flanders hollands exceed the meaſure marked on the piece, above two ells, which allows the retailer for loſs of meaſure, in cutting it out in ſmall quantities; whereas our Iriſh linens have only half a yard over the ſtamped meaſure, and ſometimes not ſo much. Theſe being chiefly conſumed at home, the defect is not ſo material an object; but our trade to Flanders, where they are accuſtomed to liberal weights and meaſures, has been almoſt loſt in the woollen ſtuff branch, owing in a great degree to this perfidy in our manufacturers; the French purſuing their intereſts better, by keeping up to a generous ſurplus in their

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lenghths, have introduced their ſtuffs generally into that country, which conſumes a prodigious quantity.

It may be objected to me, that the high duties laid on all woollen ſtuffs by the court of BRUSSELS, ſince the year 1715, contrary to the faith of treaties, have been the cauſe of our loſing the greateſt part of this valuable branch of commerce with that country; to which I ſhould reply, that the French labour under the ſame diſadvantage, yet their commerce with the AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS in ſtuffs, is greatly increaſed, and ours proportionally diminiſhed.

To ſay the truth, the whole manufacturing intereſt being ſubject to the juriſdiction of the police in France, is a very great advantage in their favour; for all the frauds and deceits in the ſeveral works of art, all the oppreſſions and injuſtice of maſters, and every miſbehaviour of workmen, is properly inſpected into by a kind of jury of merchants, conſiſting of twelve of the moſt reputable people in trade, who have a power of proceeding in a ſummary way, without expence or procraſtination, and who conſtantly report to the royal council, the ſtate of trade and manufactures in every province, accurately noting the encouragements wanting, the abuſes to be rectified, and the cauſes of the decay of any branch of trade, or art, where it is perceptible.

I AM very ſenſible, that there are many things practicable in more arbitrary governments, which cannot be introduced into Great Britain, without alarming our jealouſy for our civil rights, as a free people; but, if it ſhall appear, that many of the regulations enforced by the government in France, with reſpect to their manufactures, are not ſo deſpotic, as thoſe ineffectual means made uſe of in England, there can be no objection brought againſt adopting them, on the ſubject of liberty.

LET me only aſk the queſtion, Which ſeems moſt compatible with the idea of civil liberty, to have all differences between maſters and work-men, all complaints about monopolizing, undermining, and unfair ſchemes of rivalry, and all caſes of fraud and deceit, in the marks, ſtamps, meaſures, quantities, and qualities of commodities, decided by a court, or jury of twelve impartial merchants, or reſpectable tradeſmen

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men of the firſt claſs, who thoroughly underſtand the matters brought before them, and may be enabled to adjuſt nine diſputes out of ten by arbitration; or to leave them to the diſcuſſion of two ignorant country juſtices of the peace, or two venal magiſtrates of the ſame denomination in the liberties of Weſtminſter and county of Middleſex; gentlemen who know little or nothing about commercial concerns, and who, inſtead of clearing up the point, only involve it in obſcurity; or are guilty of ſuch manifeſt partiality and injuſtice, that their deciſions are frequently the ground-work of tedious and expenſive ſuits at law in Weſtminſter-hall?

I SHOULD imagine every friend of freedom muſt give his vote in favour of the eſtabliſhment of courts of merchants in every county in England, in preference to the preſent mode of referring any diſputes between manufacturers and their workmen, to ignorant or corrupt juſtices of the peace *.

ANOTHER diſadvantage our manufactures labour under is, that many of our common people are ſo averſe to compulſion, that, though you make laws to oblige them to work ſuch a number of hours, at certain wages, you cannot force them to do that work according to the beſt of their ſkill, or to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, where its completion depends on aſſiduous labour.

BUT even for this there is an eaſy remedy, if manufacturers and traders would be juſt and honourable to each other; and here it is with great reluctance that I am obliged once more to beſtow the greateſt commendations on the French, and to reprimand my countrymen. For it is an undoubted fact, that in France no maſter will employ a workman, in any branch of their manufactures, without being well aſſured that he is totally diſcharged, and being thoroughly ſatisfied from his laſt maſter, that he has not embezzled any materials, ſpoiled any work he undertook, by idleneſs, inattention, drunkenneſs, or perverſeneſs; nor has demanded more than the wages eſtabliſhed by

* By ſtatute, 1 Ann, the wages, demands, frauds, and deceits of workmen in woollen, &c. are to be determined by any two juſtices of the peace where the controverſy doth ariſe.

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law or cuſtom in that branch. Indeed they are well apprized, that the ſeduction of the ſervants of other maſters would be puniſhed by the court of merchants, and the old maſter be permitted to reclaim his ſervant, even though he were not an indentured apprentice.

But in England there is no puniſhment for tempting workmen to leave one maſter, and hire themſelves clandeſtinely to another, though the art and trade of the perſon they quit ſhould be ſtagnated, or half ruined by ſuch deſertion. In the crape manufactory at Norwich, I am informed there have been ſome very ſcandalous practices of this ſort; and as for maſters giving more than the cuſtomary wages, the law in this caſe is by no means ſuited to the enormity of the offence; for nothing tends ſo much to the encouragement of idleneſs, debauchery, and inſolence amongſt low workmen, as this meaſure; yet the offender is only to ſuffer ten days impriſonment.

The price of proviſions, and indeed of all the neceſſaries of life, has been increaſing ever ſince the year 1763; and this having given occaſion to great murmurs amongſt the labouring part of the people, and alſo to the public diſturbances already mentioned, it follows, in the order of my ſubject, that I ſhould enter into the diſcuſſion of a point, which has been conſtantly debated in the public papers, and in various treatiſes from the preſs; a point in which ſcarce two people agree in accidental converſation; and which has not yet been ſettled to the ſatisfaction of the parties intereſted.

It is ſaid by one party, that the proſperity of a manufacturing country depends on the cheapneſs of proviſions, and the low rates of labour of every kind.

The oppoſition alledge, that there cannot be a ſurer ſign of the flouriſhing condition of arts, manufactures, and trade, than the dearneſs of proviſions, and the high price of labour.

It has been attempted likewiſe to eſtabliſh a third opinion, ariſing out of the conſideration of theſe two; and pamphlets have been publiſhed to prove, that, in England, the rates of labour have no dependence on the high price of proviſions, and that the maſters in the ſeveral branches of manufactures, and the uſeful arts, have no right to complain, "that the high price of proviſions has enhanced the value of

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" their productions," ſince the price of labour is not augmented in any proportionate degree; and therefore this is only a pretence to increaſe the profits of their ſeveral arts or manufactures, and to impoſe on the conſumer.

In a conteſt of ſuch delicacy and importance, we cannot be too cautious or exact in advancing any thing that is not founded on the beſt information, and the ſoundeſt reaſonings; for the leaſt miſtake, if we have any influence with government, or any credit with the body of the people, may be highly prejudicial to the commercial intereſts of our country, by engaging the one in falſe meaſures, or by inſtilling into the other wrong ideas.

The authority of writers, whoſe works have gained great credit with the public, ſhould claim the precedence in a ſcrutiny of this kind. I ſhall therefore take the liberty to introduce in this place, the force of Mr. Arthur Young's * arguments, to prove, that the price of proviſions by no means governs that of labour, and that the dearneſs of the former is no impediment to the ſucceſs of manufactures. Sentiments ſo paradoxical, and, in ſome reſpects, ſo contrary to the received opinions of men of the firſt reputation in the commercial world before his time, that it would be an equal injuſtice to him and to our readers, if we were not to give them in his own words, that there may be no room for a charge of miſrepreſentation, before we produce the refutations of his opponents.

In his treatiſe on the expediency of allowing a free exportation of corn, we find the following intelligence and calculation, and the inferences deduced, as they reſpect manufactures.

" In the year 1767, I took a journey into Wales, the minutes of " which I laid before the public, under the title of A Six Weeks " Tour.

" I found in that journey that there was not any proportion be- " tween the rates of labour and thoſe of proviſions.

* Author of a treatiſe, intitled, The Expediency of allowing a free Exportation of Corn, the Farmer's Letters, &c. London, printed for W. Nicoll, 1767.

" The

" THE year following, I made a ſimilar tour through the north of " England, and found, throughout above two thouſand five hundred " miles of country, that the rates of labour, in no reſpect, depended " on thoſe of proviſions.

" BREAD, butter, cheeſe, and meat being thrown into one aggre- " gate price, and the earnings of a family the ſame; the following " was the compariſon which aroſe.

Aggregate price of proviſions.	Earnings of a family.
D.	*L.* *s.* *d.*
2 ½ per lb.	— 51 8 0
2 ¾	— 51 3 10
3	— 53 2 4
3 ¼	— 47 16 0
3 ½	— 50 1 11
3 ¾	— 50 17 11
4	— 50 10 8

BREAD ALONE.

D.	*L.* *s.* *d.*
¾ per lb.	— 47 5 10
1	— 51 9 6
1 ¼	— 51 17 11
1 ½	— 50 12 3
1 ¾	— 50 12 11
2	— 51 16 4

" WERE the price of proviſions the director of that of labour, theſe " tables would be in exact degradation; but the contrary is as near " the truth: ſo very far is the rate of the one from the rule of the " other, that they are moſtly in oppoſition. Thoſe who pay four- " pence a pound, earn leſs, by three pounds a year, than others, who " are fed at three-pence; the rate of three-pence half-penny is " attended by leſs earnings, by ſix pounds a year, than three-pence. " The loweſt price of proviſions, two-pence half-penny, is attended " with eighteen ſhillings a year greater earnings than four-pence, the " higheſt price.

" IN

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" In bread alone, the man who pays a penny a pound, earns as " much, within a few ſhillings, as he who pays two-pence, and he " who eats it at one penny farthing more. In whatever view the " table is thrown, the ſame contradictions appear; and, turn and " twiſt the compariſon how you will, in no inſtance will you find " that labour is high, becauſe proviſions are the ſame; you will, in " more inſtances, find the reverſe to be the fact.

" But, in the name of common-ſenſe, where are the facts, and " what are the reaſonings, that prove a high rate of proviſions an " enemy to manufactures? It is a matter, indeed, that has been taken " ſo much for granted, that theſe gentlemen have diſdained to exerciſe " their powers of reaſoning upon it: they give you an ipſe dixit to " make what you can of.

" Living muſt be rendered dear before that general induſtry, which " can alone ſupport a manufacturing people, will be rooted amongſt " them. There is not an inſtance in Europe of a country making " great advances in manufactures, while ſuch country continued under " the poſſibility of labour being low. In thoſe countries where ma- " nufactures make the greateſt ſhoots, proviſions are the higheſt; viz. " Holland and Britain. Yet, notwithſtanding ſuch high prices, who " will aſſert that manufactures are carried to greater perfection in " countries where proviſions and labour are lower?

" It is a fact well known through all the manufacturing towns in " this kingdom, that the labouring poor work no more days in a week " than are ſufficient to maintain themſelves; the remainder is ſpent in " idleneſs.

" When proviſions are very cheap, they are more diſtreſſed, and " their families more unhappy, than in the very deareſt times; for a " man who waſtes half his time in idleneſs, or, perhaps, in what is " worſe, will be a poor workman the other half."

The anonymous author of " Thoughts on Trade and Commerce," ſtrenghthens Mr. Young's obſervations, and even goes one ſtep farther; for he gives it as a maxim,

That dearneſs of proviſions tends to lower the price of labour in manufactories.

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THE truth of this maxim is deduced from the conduct of our manufacturing populace, who do not labour, upon an average, more than four days in the week, unleſs when proviſions are very dear; and when this is the caſe, he ſays, "a general induſtry prevails, workmen croud "about the houſes of maſter-manufacturers, begging for work almoſt "at any rate, and they work five or ſix days in the week, becauſe the "ſubſiſtence of their families demands this cloſe application to labour."

"On the contrary, when proviſions are at a low price, tipling "houſes and ſkittle-grounds are crouded, inſtead of their maſters "court-yards; idleneſs and debauchery take place, labour grows ſcarce, "maſters are obliged to ſeek it, and to court the labourer to his work, "ſometimes at an advanced price, in one ſhape or another."

HE aſſerts likewiſe, "That when proviſions are dear, from any "cauſe, the labour of the poor is performed with care, with aſſiduity, "and a regard to the pleaſing their employer; and the workmen are "kept ſober, by which means the work is better performed; for he "who, after a debauch, returns to his labour with an aching head, "and trembling hand, will not perform it in a proper manner."

ON a ſuppoſition, which he takes for granted, but which I ſhall by no means admit, that our manufacturing populace in general are, (as he ſtiles them) the moſt idle, debauched, and luxurious, of any in Europe, he recommends enforcing them to induſtry and ſobriety, and to moderate labour ſix days in the week; but he would not have them receive more for ſix days application than for four. He quotes Sir William Temple's obſervation: "Of ſuch force is habit, that the "change from conſtant labour to conſtant eaſe is as difficult and diſa-"greeable as from conſtant eaſe to conſtant labour;" and very unfairly wreſts it to the purpoſe of proving, that it would be better for the ſtate, and for the labourer, if he were to receive ſix ſhillings for ſix days labour, inſtead of earning the ſame in four.

HE then draws the contraſt between the diſſolute manners of our manufacturing populace, and the induſtrious poor of Holland, who work ſix days in the week chearfully, pay a much greater part of their incomes in taxes on the neceſſaries of life, and yet, by their frugality and

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and ſobriety, ſupport themſelves and families more decently than the Engliſh. Indolence and eaſe are luxuries he lays to the charge of our labouring people. "All the taxes on the neceſſaries they conſume operate to prevent this fatal indulgence, and therefore ſhould be the laſt to be aboliſhed." Brandy, gin, tea, ſugar, foreign fruit, ſtrong beer, printed linens, ſnuff, tobacco, &c. &c. are the ſuperfluities which, he ſays, our poor conſume in ſuch heaps; and, as he would have the taxes on the bare neceſſaries of life continued, by the ſame rule thoſe on theſe luxuries ſhould be doubled; and yet all this load of taxes, it ſeems, ought not to raiſe the price of labour, nor injure our foreign commerce in manufactures.

THE man who could dedicate his treatiſe to the late EARL of HALLIFAX, and call him the COLBERT of the age, ſome may think, does not deſerve an anſwer; but as many parts of his performance ſhew a knowledge of commerce, which may recommend him to government, and his evident deſign is to flatter the preſent adminiſtration, and to encourage thoſe contemptible notions reſpecting the labouring poor, which our great men have lately been fond of, he is to them a dangerous adverſary; for ſuch writings find admittance into the cabinets of miniſters and princes, while the moſt ſacred truths, if they arraign the conduct of government in any department, or in any inſtance, are treated as the viſionary legends of diſturbed imaginations; and Bedlam is recommended to the authors, inſtead of the offices of dignity and confidence they ought to hold in the ſtate, both at home and abroad, for the benefit of its commercial intereſts.

LASTLY, this author cites the authorities of Sir WILLIAM PETTY, Sir JOSIAH CHILD, Mr. POLIXFEN, Mr. GEE, and ſome other writers, to confirm the obſervation, "that trade can never be greatly extended, where the neceſſaries of life are very cheap."

SUCH is the ſubſtance of the arguments againſt the labouring intereſt of this country, and of the encouragement given to maſter-manufacturers, farmers, and handicraftſmen, to keep down the prices of labour, notwithſtanding any advance in the price of the neceſſaries, or ſuperfluities of life, conſumed by their workmen and labourers.

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In deference to the great authorities I have conſulted on the other ſide of the queſtion, and to avoid even the appearance of partiality, I ſhall reſerve my own opinion, till I have given their arguments all the weight they deſerve.

I shall cite, in the firſt place, the judicious remarks of that admired commercial writer, Mr. postlethwaite.

" It is a trite remark in the mouths of too many, that if the induſ-
" trious poor can obtain enough to maintain themſelves in five days,
" they will not work the whole ſix; whence they infer the neceſſity
" of even the neceſſaries of life being made dear by taxes, or any other
" means, to compel the working artiſan and manufacturer to labour
" the whole ſix days in the week without ceaſing. I muſt beg leave
" to differ in ſentiment from thoſe great politicians, who contend for
" the perpetual ſlavery of the working people of this kingdom; they
" forget the vulgar adage, all work and no play.

" Have not the Engliſh boaſted of the ingenuity and dexterity of
" their working artiſts and manufacturers, which have hitherto given
" credit and reputation to Britiſh wares in general? What has this
" been owing to? To nothing more, probably, than the relaxation
" of the working people in their own way. Were they obliged to
" toil the year round, the whole ſix days in the week, in a repetition
" of the ſame work, might it not blunt their ingenuity, and render
" them ſtupid, inſtead of alert and dexterous; and might not our
" workmen loſe their reputation, inſtead of maintaining it by ſuch
" eternal ſlavery?

" Have not all wiſe nations inſtituted holidays, ſports, and paſtimes,
" for the diverſion of the maſs of the people? To what end? Cer-
" tainly, to give them a freſh reliſh for their labour. And, if they
" had not unbendings, we may preſume they would pine away, and
" become enervated in body, as well as marred in underſtanding; and
" what ſort of workmanſhip could we expect from ſuch hard-driven
" animals?

" However ſome London workmen may, now and then, impair
" their healths by drunkenneſs and debauchery, the bulk of the in-
" duſtriou

" duſtrious artiſans and manufacturers throughout the kingdom do " otherwiſe; and, when they do make a holiday, they will eaſily " fetch the loſt time up, as they term it, in caſes of piece-work; and " many of them will execute as much work in four days, as a French- " man does in five or ſix. But, if Engliſhmen are to be eternal " drudges, it is to be feared they will degenerate below the French- " men. As our people are famed for bravery in war, do we not ſay " that it is owing to good Engliſh roaſt beef and pudding in their " bellies, as well as our conſtitutional ſpirit of liberty? And why may " not the ſuperior ingenuity and dexterity of our artiſts and manu- " facturers be owing to that freedom and liberty they enjoy, to divert " themſelves in their own way? And, I hope, we ſhall never have " them deprived of ſuch privileges, and of that good living from " whence their ingenuity, no leſs than their courage, may proceed. " However, ſome regulations may be neceſſary, even for the diverſions " of the induſtrious poor."

THE ſentiments of Mr. Poſtlethwaite have been adopted by ſeveral other writers; but by none has the cauſe of the labouring poor been ſo well ſupported, as by the author of *Conſiderations on the Policy, Commerce, and Circumſtances of this Kingdom.* He has combated the reigning folly of our landholders, (who conſider our uſeful labourers in every branch of art and induſtry, as an inſolent, unruly, debauched populace, fit only to be held in oppreſſive ſubjection,) with a laudable ſpirit, and merits the ſincere thanks of every good citizen. When I have given his intelligent obſervations, I ſhall have ſtated every thing material that has hitherto been offered to the public on this intereſting ſubject.

AFTER mentioning that it has been faſhionable of late to join in loud outcries againſt the working people of this kingdom, on account of pretended extortionate wages, and likewiſe for idleneſs and vice, he gives us the following material information.

" IT is however a fact ſufficiently notorious, that the rates of la- " bour have not riſen in proportion to the increaſe of taxes, and the " prices of proviſions, and other neceſſaries of life.

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" FROM Mr. Hume's works we learn, that in the reign of Henry " VII. the wages of a bricklayer, maſon, tyler, &c. were ten-pence " a day. Sir William Petty mentions the wages of an huſbandman to " be about four ſhillings a week, which was eight pence a day; and " thoſe of working tradeſmen (in which order we muſt include manu- " facturers) to be two ſhillings, and half a crown a day, in the reign " of Charles II. in which reign, he ſays, lands were worth but twenty " years purchaſe. And Mr. Locke ſays, that the wages of a labourer, " in the reign of Queen Anne, were twelve-pence a day. Let me add " too, from good information, that in the reign of George I. the late " Earl of Lincoln paid the many workmen he employed for ſeveral " years, in improving his park and gardens of Oatlands in Surry, ſeven " ſhillings a week, which was fourteen pence a day.

" THUS we ſee how land has riſen in value ſince the reign of Charles " the Second; it being now nearly doubled in many parts of the kingdom; " while even ſuperior workmens wages have little increaſed in any; " but, on the contrary, in many parts have become reduced, even as " low as thoſe inſtanced to be given by the late Earl of Lincoln to his " mere labourers. And as for labourers, their wages at preſent are " but ten-pence a day in ſome places, nor in any, I believe, more than " twelve-pence, in the common courſe of buſineſs. Yet almoſt the " whole of our enormous taxes have been laid on ſince the reign of " Charles II. many of which fall intirely upon the labouring part of " the people, and all greatly affect them in the prices of proviſions, " and other neceſſaries of life.

" EVERY tax laid upon commodities is ſuppoſed to be at leaſt " doubled by traders on conſumers, and moſt commonly greatly more. " The ſame likewiſe has been the caſe with regard to the prices of " cheeſe, butter, and many other eſſential neceſſaries of life to the " poor: and the like may probably be ſaid even of houſe-rent, if the " window-tax is included; in order to make ſavings in which latter, we " ſee the poor wretches in many cottages almoſt deprive themſelves of " light.

" THUS, while lands have been nearly doubling in their value, and " the profits of home dealings have been more than doubling on taxes,

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" the prices of labour have, in many callings, been diminiſhed, in " others kept unvaried, and in none raiſed proportionally to the ad- " vancement of other property, or the altered rates of things. Yet, " unequal as their treatment has been, thoſe unhappy, diſtreſſed, op- " preſſed, and uſeful people, have become the objects of abuſe through- " out the kingdom.

" INDUSTRY, like every other exertion of human powers, whether " of the body or mind, requires its proper ſtimulations. To toil in- " ceſſantly in want, is too hard a condition for a human creature to " endure. Men will not be laborious, but on the proſpect of reaping " ſome enjoyment therefrom; nay, it would be the moſt deteſtable " tyranny to require it on other terms. The want of due encourage- " ment muſt naturally make men ſink into deſpondency, or plunge " into deſperation; which are ſuch evils as government ought to guard " againſt with the utmoſt care.

" EVERY man who honeſtly endeavours to obtain ſuch comforts of " life as are ſuitable to his ſtation, by ſkill and induſtry in his calling, " muſt be fully intitled to the enjoyment of them. They are no more " than his implied conditional and conſtitutional dues from the com- " munity, of which there is no member more valuable; and ſhould " he find himſelf deprived of them, either by artifice or force, and has " no other means of remedy left, he muſt, and will have recourſe to " the laws of nature, which are imprinted on his heart, and operate " through all his feelings. One way or other, he will find himſelf " neceſſitated to ſhift as well as he can. He will either ſeparate from " that ſociety, to ſearch for a better lot, which numbers of ſuch " people have already done, and are yet doing; or he will turn preyer " on the community, in which he had been preyed upon, and wherein " he could not comfortably ſubſiſt by a better kind of practice.

" As landlords have ſtrove to keep down the price of labour, in " order to raiſe the value of their own property, ſo farmers and maſter- " workmen have done the ſame, for the enhancement of their own " gains; while, at the ſame time, they were likewiſe practiſing every " artifice for raiſing the prices of their commodities. From theſe par-

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" tial and ſelf-intereſted ſources have been circulated throughout the " kingdom the inſidious reproaches of exorbitant demands of wages, " and the too general accuſations of vicious extravagance in thoſe who " had it not in their power to be guilty of the offence. Such have " been the effects of a prevailing rapacious ſpirit; ſo much the more " to be cenſured, as thoſe who ſuffer them have been the means of " giving affluence to their accuſers; nay the people to whom we are " not only indebted for individual conveniencies and felicities, but " alſo for the whole of our national powers. Yet to them, for their " utility, the ſtate indiſputably owes convenience, encouragement, " and protection; which government ſhould enſure to them, as their " natural and ſocial dues.

" THAT there may be grounds of complaint for exorbitant demands " of pay for ſome kinds of labour, eſpecially in the metropolis and its " neighbourhood, will be readily allowed, particularly with regard to " ſome kinds of porterage, and occaſionally in other ways. All ſuch " abuſes are deſerving of reſtraint; but they ought not to be made the " grounds of general reproach. Regulations in many matters may be " needful; but let oppreſſions be removed."

IT is now my buſineſs to draw preciſion and truth from this ample field of argument, and to decide the merits of the cauſe on true commercial principles. If, in this attempt, I meet with the ſame approbation from my readers in general, as I was honoured with from different audiences, when I delivered my ſentiments on this head in lectures, I ſhall think myſelf greatly overpaid for the pains I have taken.

FROM Mr. Young's arguments, and his table, I clearly diſcover, that when proviſions are dear, labour is cheap; for if it does not riſe in any degree of proportion, there wants little logic to prove, that the maſter is the gainer by the high price of food; and the author of " Thoughts on Trade and Commerce," informs us, that when proviſions are dear, induſtry is enforced, and more work is performed. If we combine theſe ideas, another propoſition of Mr. Young will be readily admitted.

" An high rate of proviſions is no enemy to manufactures;" for we ſee more work is done, and cheaper in proportion, when they are

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high, than when they are at a low rate. It follows likewiſe, that the proprietors of manufactories, or the maſters of the various branches of the mechanic atts and trades, employing a number of poor workmen, have no right to complain of this ſituation of things.

If dearneſs of proviſions tends to lower, rather than to raiſe the price of labour, as we have ſeen by Mr. Young's calculation, by the aſſertions of the author of "Thoughts on Trade and Commerce," and by the corroborating proofs carefully extracted from hiſtory by the writer of "Conſiderations on the Policy, Commerce, and Circumſtances of the Kingdom;" the next point to be determined is, Whether an high rate of proviſions, and a low one of labour, is beneficial or detrimental to manufactures, ſince all our authorities agree, that they never flouriſh in countries where they are both very low?

By anſwering this queſtion properly, we ſhall bring the conteſt into a ſmaller compaſs, and be able to account for the murmurs and inſurrections of the poor labouring people, when proviſions are extravagantly dear in England; we ſhall likewiſe trace the enhanced value of our manufactures, the defectiveneſs of their quantity and quality, in compariſon of former times, and the decline of ſome branches of our foreign commerce.

The advocate for the poor has one advantage on his ſide, he cannot be ſuſpected of ſelfiſh views; but he has much to fear, on the other hand, from the paſſions, prejudices, and power of the rich, and of men of corrupt principles in high places. To them this elucidation of a ſubject, in which the deareſt intereſts of their country will be found to claſh with their manners and conduct, cannot but be very ungrateful; nor can I flatter myſelf with the proſpect, that they will promote the circulation of a work, wherein the author will be frequently obliged to mention them in terms that they may think reprehenſible; but which, nevertheleſs, proceed from the conviction of truth, and a ſincere deſire to ſerve its ſacred cauſe, at the expence of ignorance, obſtinacy, corruption, prodigality, or avarice, wherever it is to be found oppoſing, or, which is the ſame thing in effect, gradually undermining the power, credit, and wealth of the whole community.

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THE candid part of mankind will, I believe, allow me to ſay, that proviſions, and all other neceſſaries of life, are not only at an high rate at preſent in England, but at an exorbitant price. I might therefore beg leave to amend my queſtion; but I diſclaim this advantage; and I will venture to affirm, that no country can long maintain its arts and manufactures in ſuch a flouriſhing condition, as to make them anſwer the purpoſes of univerſal commerce, while proviſions continue dear for any length of time, and the price of labour diſproportionately low; and that this is the caſe with us, will appear plainly from a review of the extracts I have laid before my readers.

THAT our arts, manufactures, and commerce muſt decline from this melancholy ſituation of affairs, remains to be proved; in doing which I ſhall neceſſarily expoſe the falſe principles that have brought us into theſe unhappy circumſtances; and I ſhall, with all deference, recommend the true principles, by which we may reſtore plenty, eaſe, and content to the poor, and inſure laſting proſperity to our manufacturing intereſt.

THE ingenious Dr. Cadogan, whoſe diſſertation on the gout does equal honour to his ſkill as a phyſician, and to his humanity as a member of ſociety, has told us, "That the original cauſes of all chronic "diſeaſes, are either indolence, intemperance, or vexation *.

THE two laſt, as the cauſes of imbecility and mortality, I mean to apply to my ſubject; for as to the firſt, notwithſtanding the natural propenſity of mankind, it is agreed on all hands, that the poor, when proviſions are dear, cannot generally give way to it.

WITH reſpect to intemperance, chiefly in the article of drinking, there is but too much truth in the charge brought againſt our labouring poor on this head; but I believe it is made too univerſal; for certainly, the farther you go from the metropolis, the more ſobriety and œconomy you diſcover in the lower claſſes of the people.

BUT what is the cauſe, for the moſt part, of this intemperance? Here the author of "Thoughts on Trade and Commerce," has at-

* See Diſſertation on the Gout, and all Chronic Diſeaſes, Sixth Edition, London, printed for J. Dodſley, 1771.

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tempted to miſlead the public. It is not a diſpoſition to idleneſs, (we are not to tax any body of people with the vices of a few worthleſs wretches, to be found in every claſs, and in all ranks of life), for I maintain it, the Engliſh common people in general, are the moſt induſtrious, labouring people, and rid the moſt work in a ſhort time, of any in Europe.

It is the vexation and diſtreſs of mind, when proviſions, and the neceſſaries of life, are ſo dear, that they cannot even maintain their families by inceſſant toil, that often drives them to hopeleſs deſpondency; and, in this temper of mind, government has ſet open every avenue to that fatal relief from ſorrow, drinking; for tipling-houſes and ſkittle-grounds are the reſources of our wretched ſyſtem of finances. If theſe are not connived at, and ſuffered in too great numbers, all over England, the revenues muſt fall ſhort, and the luxurious land-holder at laſt be obliged to pay his true quota of the public expences, to make good the deficiency. With what face can any writer charge the labouring people ſo home with debauchery, and talk of COLBERTS at the helm of government, while it avowedly draws a main branch of its ſupport from their intemperance?

Let the laws be enforced by the magiſtrates, and let the ale-houſes, taverns, and inns, be obliged to ſhut up in all the capital cities of the kingdom at ten o'clock, and, in the ſmall towns and villages, at nine at night, having firſt cleared them of all perſons not belonging to the families, and we may be aſſured of putting a ſtop to the intemperance, debauchery, and luxury of our labouring poor; but, I am afraid, we ſhall thereby overturn the ſeats in the treaſury, and eraſe from the court liſt, a numerous company of placemen and penſioners, for want of money to ſupport that idle, corrupt crew of ſycophants. Such a ſcheme might be deſirable in a virtuous republic, but would only deſtroy the ſyſtem of government in a degenerate, mixed monarchy, where the majority in two of the three eſtates of the realm, are, by theſe douceurs, made ſubſervient to the abſolute will of the third.

The ſame reaſoning will hold good with reſpect to every article of the neceſſaries of life conſumed by the poor, on which there are any

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taxes or exciſes. Reſtrain the luxury they enjoy in the conſumption of tea, ſugar, brandy, geneva, ſtrong beer, tobacco, and ſnuffs, and you will either ruin the public credit of the kingdom, by diſabling the treaſury to pay the intereſt of the national debt, or they muſt invent new taxes, which, in ſome other ſhape, will affect manufactures more ſenſibly than the preſent exciſes on theſe articles.

We have been told, that if induſtry was enforced, by obliging the manufacturing populace to labour ſix days in the week, inſtead of four, for the ſame wages; the work would be better performed, their ſobriety would render them careful, and the neceſſity of ſuch cloſe attention, in order to provide food and raiment for their families, in dear ſeaſons, would make them aſſiduous to pleaſe; but the very reverſe is to be apprehended, nay, is actually experienced, where, from abſolute neceſſity, the poor are thus oppreſſed, by the combined plagues of dearneſs of proviſions, inceſſant labour, and low wages. Having no hopes of bettering their condition, which every rational perſon has in view, on his making choice of any vocation in life, indifference will take place of emulation, and thus the main ſprings of induſtry will be deſtroyed; for he who never entertains the idea of diminiſhing the weight of his dependency, either on himſelf or others, for his ſubſiſtence; or of enjoying due repoſe, and eaſy circumſtances, ſuited to his ſtation, will grow callous to common misfortunes; he will ſee his family pining with hunger and nakedneſs, without uſing any extraordinary exertions of his abilities; he will carry his induſtry no further, than to procure them temporary and partial relief; and out of the little he earns by conſtant labour, he will retain a reſerve, to purchaſe the cup of oblivion, to enable him to forget, for a few hours occaſionally, the galling yoke of double bondage, to a hard-hearted, mercenary maſter, and a numerous, diſtreſſed family.

Can it be expected, that the labour or induſtry of a perſon ſo ſituated, will be equal to that of him, who is generouſly paid, in a degree proportioned to the advantages derived from his ingenuity, cloſe application, or hard bodily labour; who ſets about his work with a chearful, contented mind, which gives ſtrength and activity to his body?

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In the one caſe, you muſt be ſatisfied with the common drudgery of an enervated ſlave; in the other, you may expect new efforts of ingenuity, extraordinary exertions of abilities, and every good effect of a mind at peace, and a body in the vigour of health.

Hold out an adequate reward, ſuited to any given ſtation in life, and how eagerly do we all enter the liſts, to contend for the prize! What uncommon talents, what wonderful operations, almoſt beyond all rational expectation, are not men ſtimulated to, by encouragement! Adapt but your recompence to the rank, diſpoſitions, and powers of mankind, and you will always find theſe good effects from them. I ſpeak not of bribery and corruption, but of the laudable incitements to commendable purſuits.

Take away your price, and diſplay the ſable banner of hopeleſs ſlavery, men will inliſt under it, to avoid extreme diſtreſs; and the fear of puniſhment may prevent their deſertion; but you muſt not confide in theſe mercenaries, in a day of ſevere trial: there can no friendſhip ſubſiſt between the maſter and the ſlave; there muſt be ſome tye of affinity, however remote, to ally men to each other by principle or ſentiment. When this is not the caſe, the intereſt of the ſuperior will never be purſued with alacrity and vigour by the inferior.

In ſhort, the human mind is not to be fettered; and therefore, where proper encouragement is given to the labouring poor, there every kind of art, every piece of work will be completely executed; it will be anſwerable in its quality to its price; there will be no perfidy on the part of the workman, no deceit concealed from the eye of the maſter, which, in the end, will deceive the conſumer, and diſcredit the art or manufacture itſelf. Will any man, after this, pretend to ſay, that manufactures can be perfect, (the only way for them to proſper), where proviſions are high, and labour low; by which all encouragement is taken away from the poor fabricator? Or, will it any longer be matter of ſurprize, that we have ſo many complaints lately of ſlight work, bad fabrics, and concealed defects, particularly in woollen cloths, ſtuffs, and Mancheſter goods? Let me aſk the opulent manufacturer, merchant, or tradeſman, if he thinks ſix or ſeven ſhillings ſufficient

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wages for ſix days hard labour? Yet, if I am rightly informed, many of the Mancheſter weavers do not earn more; and the conſequence is, that their families have ſcarce a ſhoe or ſtocking to their feet. Yet the maſters there, their factors in London, the exporters of their commodities, and the ſhop-keepers who retail them, for the moſt part, live in affluence, and are people of great property.

But if an high rate of proviſions, and a diſproportionate price of labour, are not enemies to manufactures, whence comes it, that our moſt ſtaple commodities are grown worſe in their ſeveral kinds, and their price, at the ſame time, conſiderably enhanced? We are now coming very near to diſagreeable truths.

It will be ſaid, the large demands from our old colonies, and our new acquiſitions ſince the peace, have contributed to raiſe the prices, perhaps to hurry and ſlight the work, and have likewiſe augmented the value of the firſt materials, by their ſcarcity. But what does this prove? More than it ought: That if our demand for exportation renders the conſumption at home too dear, or makes the manufacture inferior to its uſual ſtandard, to the detriment of the home-conſumer; our commerce, in this reſpect, proceeds upon falſe principles; and, while it enriches individuals, is detrimental to the ſtate. The effects of ſuch a commerce ſhall be demonſtrated in its proper place.

It will be acknowledged however, by ſome manufacturers, that there is a ſcarcity of hands for the manufacturing branches. I readily join in this opinion, but not in the imputed cauſe of it, the idleneſs and debauchery of the common people. The true cauſe is, want of proper encouragement, owing to the prevailing notions favoured by men in power, of humbling, debaſing, and keeping poor, all ſorts of country labourers and workmen; while they care not what indulgence they give to menial, domeſtic ſervants; generally ſpeaking, the real ſcum of the earth. Muſt not the farmer, or middling country ſhop-keeper, be mad or ſtupid, who ſends his ſon out to be apprentice ſeven years to an art, which will afford him afterwards only ſeven ſhillings per week journeyman's wages; or to follow daily labour at one ſhilling, or even fifteen pence per diem, when, for a very ſmall

expence,

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expence, the flying waggon or machine will tranſport him to London, where, at ſixteen years of age, he may be a driver of a poſt-chaiſe, a lady's foot-boy, or twenty other things, by which he will gain more in vails, card-money, or other perquiſites, than a country labourer's wages, beſides being provided with good cloaths, and luxurioufly boarded?

OR, what ſenſible parents would put their girls out to ſpin and card wool for three ſhillings per week, when they can ſend them to the metropolis, and its environs, to receive the moſt exorbitant wages, to inſiſt on their own conditions, to chuſe their families, to diſtinguiſh between hard and eaſy places; in fine, to indulge themſelves in every extravagance of dreſs and good living; and, if they are ſober, diſcreet girls, by the arts of genteel ſervice, to lay by ſufficient funds to ſettle in life as ſubſtantial traders, by marrying footmen, or valets, who have had the ſame opportunities of amaſſing from the ſons of riot and diſſipation?

A LIST was lately put into my hands of upwards of one thouſand ale-houſe-keepers, green-grocers, chandlers, oil-ſhops, and other retail traders, in London, and the villages adjacent, all of whom were originally footmen and ſervant-maids; and I am aſſured, by very accurate calculators, that no leſs than ten thouſand male and female ſervants (foreigners and natives) might be ſpared from London, and twenty miles round it, if luxury were not carried to the moſt deſtructive heighth. Yet, ſuch is the ſpirit of the rich, for diſtreſſing inferior houſekeepers, that they encourage theſe uſeleſs wretches in their exorbitant demands, and inſolent behaviour, inſomuch, that families in the middle claſſes of life can hardly procure ſervants at any rate. They juſt take a turn or two in ſuch families, to ſee how they like them, and then leave them inſolently and impertinently. For the truth of this, I appeal to the bulk of the houſe-keepers of London, in the middle claſſes of life. Yet no remedy is propoſed for this real grievance, though it is a manifeſt cauſe of the ſcarcity of manufacturing and labouring hands in the country, and of provincial depopulation.

I WILL venture to propoſe one, which, in my humble opinion, would

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would operate the moſt ſalutary effects in favour of agriculture, population, and manufactures.

Let a tax of forty ſhillings per annum be laid on every domeſtic ſervant of both ſexes, of whatever denomination; all porters, apprentices, journeymen, and other workmen, in every art, manufacture, and trade, excepted. By ſuch a regulation, all ſupernumerary ſervants, the uſeleſs pageants of pride and luxury, will either be diſcharged, or a revenue of ſome conſequence will ariſe to government for the public ſervice. I ſhall take it for granted, however, that ten thouſand uſeleſs hands would be diſcharged from all the capital cities in the kingdom, and reſtored to agriculture, arts, and manufactures, by means of this tax. If only one in ten of theſe marries, and ſettles in ſome manufacturing town, or in ſome village, where there is a want of hands in the farming branch, and every third marriage produces only one child, who lives to an age to be capable of labour, we need only add this increaſe to the work performed by their parents, and we ſhall find the complaint of the ſcarcity of hands redreſſed in a very ſhort time.

But we actually labour at preſent under a ſcarcity, as well as an extravagant price, of many kinds of proviſions, particularly butcher's meat; the wanton, luxurious conſumption of which, beyond the real wants of nature, exceeds the produce. Any one in the leaſt acquainted with the riotous living of ſervants, with their waſte, prodigality, and daintineſs, in London alone, will be at no loſs to diſcover that we ſhould contribute largely to the reſtoring of plenty in this article by our plan; for the ſcheme of life of a poor hard-labouring country-man or woman muſt be quite different from that of the pampered city-ſervant, fed at the coſt of his maſter. The wages of the induſtrious manufacturer, we have already ſeen, will not allow of a liberal conſumption of butcher's meat, much leſs for waſting, or throwing it away, becauſe its quality does not ſuit a dainty palate.

An objection may be made to my propoſal, on the behalf of the lower claſſes of houſekeepers, who keep only one maid-ſervant, and can hardly afford that, yet know not how to diſpenſe with ſuch a neceſſary aſſiſtant.

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My anſwer is, that in one family out of three, this is an imaginary want they have no right to gratify in their ſituation and circumſtances, eſpecially where there are not a number of children; and I will add, what has paſſed under my own obſervation; that reputable mechanic artiſts and tradeſmen, of the lower claſſes of citizens, in Flanders and in Holland, know not what it is to keep a maid-ſervant; the miſtreſs alone, or the miſtreſs, aſſiſted by her *fille de boutique* (her ſhop-girl), performs all the neceſſary functions of the cook or houſe-maid; and though our inferior citizens wives are too proud and indolent to think of ſuch ſort of œconomy, yet this muſt not prevent my declaring, that the true principles of trade require frugality, parſimony, and ſimplicity, in the conduct of this claſs of citizens, in a commercial ſtate. But, admitting the expediency of their keeping one maid, in theſe luxurious times, my plan muſt be beneficial to them otherwiſe; for either the price of wages muſt be reduced to its old ſtandard, four pounds, inſtead of ſix or ſeven, now fooliſhly given, or they muſt deduct the tax from the preſent exorbitant demands of ſervants. For my own part, when I beheld the inſurrection of the weavers, I was only aſtoniſhed at their miſtaking their object; for ſurely nothing can be ſo abſurd in a well-regulated government, as to ſuffer the moſt uſeful hands in the trading and commercial intereſt, to languiſh and pine away with hunger and diſtreſs, while theſe ſlaves of idleneſs, and panders to luſt, are cloathed, fed, and better paid, than ſoldiers, ſailors, or manufacturers, the vital arteries of the commonwealth. I ſhuddered leſt their reſentment ſhould be turned againſt the liveried laquais, foreign valets, and inſolent waiting maids. In a nation that had no foreign commerce, this group of extravagant conſumers might be accounted beneficial; but in a country, dependent on foreign demands, for its ſuperfluous produce, in the moſt improved ſtate (manufactured), they are a great detriment to the common intereſt. Their induſtry ſhould be employed to increaſe the quantity of food, raiment, and works of ingenuity; the increaſe of the quantity of the neceſſaries of life would neceſſarily add to the number of the people, by encouraging matrimony; and this again would tend to the augmentation of the ſuperfluities for export, by regular progreſſion.

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HERE the complaint of high wages is juſt; and it is a reproach to adminiſtration, that it has not been redreſſed. In proportion as proviſions have riſen, the menial ſervant, who does not contribute to the maintenance of the family (like an apprentice or workman) ſhould have lowered his demands, to allow for the extra-expence of his cloathing and ſubſiſtence. The reverſe has been the caſe; but here again, the miſerable ſtate of our revenues interferes to countenance, rather than to check, the exorbitant wages, idleneſs, and debauchery of houſehold ſervants. This point therefore muſt be reſumed under the head of FINANCES.

I SHALL now confidently aſſert, that another real cauſe of provincial depopulation, of the defective qualities of our manufactures, and of their enhanced prices, is the falſe principle of not raiſing workmens wages, in proportion to the very high price of proviſions of late years, or to the profits derived from their induſtry; and this leads me to caſt a retroſpective eye on the frugal, plain, honeſt manners of our maſter-manufacturers, artiſts, and handicraft-men, predeceſſors to the *preſent* race, and to compare them with *their* coſtly dreſs, carriages, elegant furniture, luxurious tables, country-houſes, numerous menial ſervants, and expenſive amuſements. When I calculate the amount of theſe, and find that they muſt all be extracted from the ſweat of the poor labourer's brow, or from an inferiority of quality (to the price) in the commodity, I am not ſurprized that my Engliſh broad-cloath is no longer ſo good as it uſed to be, nor my ſtockings ſo ſtrong, though the price is raiſed. I hear, with concern, that theſe complaints are made abroad, that deceit in the lengths and breadths is added to the charge, and that the credit of our moſt ſtaple manufactures is on the decline.

IF the profits on manufactures were not very conſiderable, how happens it, that all this elegance of life is ſupported; and we hear of very few failures amongſt the conſiderable manufacturers in our woollen, ſilk, and hard-ware branches. The true ſtate of the matter is, that the price of labour is not advanced in proportion to that of proviſions; that the profits of the proprietors of conſiderable manufactories are too great;

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great; that poor artiſts, manufacturers, and artificers daily emigrate to foreign countries, and to our colonies. It is high time now to recur to the true principles of commerce, from which I deduce the following maxims.

I. THAT the wages of all labouring people ought to riſe in proportion to an enhanced price of proviſions, and of the neceſſaries of life; and I affirm it to be the caſe in Holland, and that they are ſo regulated by the ſtates, upon all ſuch occaſions. This I advance, in anſwer to the author of "Thoughts on Trade and Commerce."

II. THAT the wages of workmen of every denomination, in a country that means to ſupport the credit of its manufactures, and an extenſive flouriſhing commerce, ought to be ſuch as will give them a proſpect of bettering their condition, and will permit them to enjoy occaſional eaſe and plenty in their own way, ſuited to their humble ſtate.

III. THAT if they bear a due proportion to the profits derived from their induſtry, this will always be the caſe, and their work will be performed with chearfulneſs, vigour, expedition, and care to perfect it.

IV. THAT ſuch encouragement will not tend to idleneſs and debauchery; unleſs idleneſs and debauchery is encouraged by the ſtate, and has pervaded all ranks of life; but that, generally ſpeaking, it will enable them to feed and cloath their families in a better manner, to the benefit of retail trade; and, from the former circumſtance, their children will become ſtronger, and better enabled to labour for their own ſupport, which again is an additional advantage to manufactures. Sir JAMES STUART obſerves, "That numbers, eſpecially "of children, among the lower claſſes, periſh from the effects of in- "digence, either directly by want of food, or by diſeaſes contracted "gradually, from the want of convenient eaſe." The ſame excellent author, in anſwer to an aſſertion, "that the population of the Britiſh "iſles is not ſtopped for want of food, becauſe one ſixth part of the "crop has been annually exported," maintains, "that it is ſtill "ſtopped for want of food; for the exportation only marks, that the

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" home-demand is ſatisfied; but this does not prove that the inhabi-
" tants are full fed, although they can buy no more at the exporta-
" tion price. Thoſe who cannot buy are exactly thoſe who, I ſay,
" die for want of ſubſiſtence; could they buy, they would live and
" multiply, and perhaps no grain would be exported." If theſe remarks are true, and, from the accuracy of the writer, there is little reaſon to doubt it, how neceſſary muſt the encouragement be, I have juſt pointed out? for, if they can hardly find means to purchaſe bread, how are they to procure meat? and, if they have not animal-food occaſionally, their bodily condition will be ſo weak, that they will be as effectually dead to all the purpoſes of laborious induſtry, as if they no longer exiſted.

V. THAT the price of labour ſhould be ſuch as will excite them to multiply their ſpecies, and therefore this inducement to matrimony, ſhould be conſidered as a firſt principle in the eſtabliſhment and direction of all manufactories.

VI. THAT the number of menial ſervants in a manufacturing kingdom, ought to be as ſmall as poſſible; for we have ſeen how they deduct from provincial population, and render manufacturing hands ſcarce.

VII. THAT it is an infamous practice to ſettle with workmen at a pay-table in an ale-houſe; and, in any other government, not dependent for its revenues on the intemperance of the people, it would be prohibited under the ſevereſt penalties.

I SHALL now cloſe this ſubject, by refuting the opinion of thoſe, who aſſert, that our manufacturing populace are an idle, debauched people, contraſted with thoſe of other nations. I muſt take up the charge as I find it; it is given as a general one. In Flanders I have had an opportunity of obſerving their workmen in moſt branches: they are indolent to an extreme, and both ſlow and lazy in every thing they ſet about; inſomuch, that I have ſeen a paviour ſitting upon a ſtool to pave the ſtreets; and a linen-weaver, in the winter, obliged to diſengage his left hand from a muff, to receive the ſhuttle he had thrown acroſs the warp with his right hand; and, every now and then, another

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ther interruption occurred, to wipe off the aſhes from his pipe that had fallen on the web. If we deduct likewiſe the time ſpent in their devotions, there will be no compariſon between ſix days labour of a Flemiſh manufacturer, or artiſt, and four days of an Engliſhman. Days of obligation of maſs, matins and veſpers, occaſional confeſſions, and favourite ſaints days, are to be taken into the account of loſt time. From Flanders I have made excurſions into Holland, a proteſtant country, where the laſt mentioned hindrances do not ariſe. Here I found the ſtupidity, ſloth, obſtinacy, and natural want of alertneſs and dexterity, peculiar to this people, ſuch draw-backs on the produce of their labour, that I am amazed to find them quoted by an Engliſh writer as patterns of induſtry: nor are they quite ſo ſober and frugal as they are repreſented; having no fixed theatres, they reſort in an evening to *ſpeil huyſen* (ale-houſes, brandy and geneva ſhops), where there is conſtantly muſic and dancing. Upon the whole, I am certain, that an Engliſhman will finiſh a piece of work of any kind in four days, that a Dutchman will leave uncomplete at the end of ſix.

A VERY ridiculous circumſtance occurs to my memory, which may ſerve, in ſome meaſure, to mark the genius of the Dutch populace. As I was walking one day on the quay at Middleburgh in Zealand, I ſaw four Dutchmen buſily employed in embarking ſome cows on board a poon, to be tranſported to ſome other province of Holland. A butcher, two common porters on the quays, and the ſkipper of the poon, were the parties. They were greatly embaraſſed by the ſtupidity of the cows, which however did not equal theirs; for they ſpread the ſlings on the quay, (a machine made of ſail-cloth, or ſtrong ſacking, about three feet wide and four feet long, with croſs bars of wood at each end, and iron rings to faſten to the tackle of the veſſel; it paſſes under the animal's belly, and joins over the back, where the rings being ſecured in the hook of the tackle, it is, by this means, gently hoiſted into the veſſel, and let down into the hold:) the two firſt cows of ſix, occupied them for more than half an hour, and almoſt exhauſted their patience; for, unluckily, they continually trode upon the ſling, either with the fore, or hind feet. When the third was to be

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embarked, the ſame thing happened, and I entreated them, as the cows were very gentle, to take up the ſling, and paſs it themſelves properly under the belly of the animal; but this not being the Dutch method, all my perſuaſions and remonſtrances were ineffectual: the ſame perplexity enſued, and the Dutchmen ſwore moſt bitterly againſt the poor beaſt. At length my ſervant, and a French ſurgeon belonging to the garriſon of Tervere, diſengaged the ſling from the cow's feet, and taking it up, the one paſſed an end under her belly, and the other received it on the oppoſite ſide, drew it tight over the back, to the great ſurpriſe of a croud of people; and thus the remaining cows were embarked in a few minutes.

I KNOW of no inſtances that can be brought of the ingenuity, or indefatigable induſtry of the Dutch workmen; as to their merchants and ſhop-keepers, they deſerve the higheſt commendations, for obſerving various rules in life, which make their manners ſtrictly conformable to the true principles on which the proſperity of a commercial nation depends; and their wiſdom in this reſpect ſhall be treated of at large under the head of Univerſal Commerce.

IF then the Engliſh workmen want only encouragement ſuited to their genius; to the free, plentiful country they inhabit; and to the cuſtomary way of their living in this country (when the avarice or the extravagancies of maſters do not pinch them) it is the duty of a Britiſh legiſlature to interfere, to call the parties before them, to dive into the myſteries of arts and manufactures as much as poſſible, to examine evidences on both ſides, to give the poor protection from the dread of revealing the truth, and to relieve the oppreſſed in every branch, that a ſpirit of emulation, an inclination to matrimony, and a full exertion of the powers of an honeſt, tractable, and, I will add, a ſenſible body of people, may take place, to the general advantage of arts, manufactures, and commerce.

BUT if the manufacturing and labouring poor ſtill continue to groan under the weight of poverty, ſcanty food, and inceſſant labour, if the maſters are ſtill to raiſe princely fortunes at their expence, if the credit of our manufactures abroad is ſtill to ſuffer through fraud and deceit,

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to add to their emoluments, and if a ſcarcity of hands is not prevented, by ſome of the means already pointed out: NATURALIZATION is another remedy propoſed.

I HAVE given all the force imaginable to this expedient, under the article of Population, admitting the evil of depopulation to have taken root, and to be making large ſtrides in a commercial kingdom; but I purpoſely reſerved the objections, to be thrown in under the preſent head, becauſe I was deſirous, when ſtating the condition of our manufacturing poor, which occaſions depopulation, to ſtrike out a medium to avoid this violent remedy: that medium, we have ſeen, is, to give ſuch encouragement to the manufacturing poor, as will reſtore our native population, the beſt we can have.

THERE is a fine paſſage in Sir JAMES STUART's Political OEconomy, on this ſubject, and as I have all along profeſſed to inform and inſtruct, by authoritative precepts, of ſuch weight as may add ſtrength to my plan, and recommend the branches of education I think ſo neceſſary for Britiſh citizens, I ſhall make no apology for introducing it in this place.

" WERE it poſſible to get a view of the general ſtate of births and " burials, in every claſs of the inhabitants of a country, marriage might " ſurely be put upon a better footing than ever it has been, for pro- " viding a determined number of good and wholeſome recruits every " year, towards national multiplication. This is walking in the light, " and procuring whatever augmentation of hands you wiſh for. What " difficulties may be found in the execution, nothing but experience " can ſhew, and this, to a judicious eye, will point out the remedy. " In my opinion, this will be far better than a general naturalization, " which I take to be a leap in the dark: for however eaſy it may be " to naturalize men, I believe nothing is ſo difficult as to naturalize " cuſtoms and foreign habits; and the greateſt bleſſing any nation can " enjoy, is an uniformity of opinion upon every point which con- " cerns public affairs, and the adminiſtration of them. When God " bleſſes a people, he makes them unanimous, and beſtows upon " them a governor who loves them, and who is beloved, honoured,

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" and reſpected by them. This, and this only, can create unani-
" mity."

It is indeed a leap in the dark to give all the rights and privileges of citizens, to an undiſtinguiſhed herd of foreigners of different principles; for, when you have admitted them for your own advantage, you are not ſure that they will account it for their's, conſtantly to reſide with you; and if, on any ſudden alterations in the policy and circumſtances of the kingdom, they ſhould deſert you, they will carry off with them the arts, manufactures, and knowledge of commerce you have taught them.

If impolitic reſtraints, for inſtance, are laid on their mode of religion, if the climate diſagrees with them, or if a ſcarcity of the neceſſaries of life happens, you have not the ſame tye upon them as on natural-born ſubjects; their relations, the very families they ſprang from, may be ſtill exiſting in the place of their nativity; when therefore the eaſe and conveniencies which brought them amongſt you ceaſe, or ſeem but to ceaſe for a time, they will leave you to return to their native countries.

They will likewiſe claſs together, and endeavour, as much as poſſible, to confine the circulation of inland trade within their own tribes; they will employ a ſhoemaker or a taylor of their own body, in preference to natives; and this will create ſuch a partiality as will cauſe murmurs, quarrels, and inſurrections amongſt your own people. Examples may be ſeen of this nationality in the foreigners now reſiding in London, and even in the Scotch. The native Engliſh, on the contrary, are too generous, too liberal, to cheriſh ſuch narrow ſentiments; ſtrictly political, but not commercial.

A general naturalization might enable foreigners, in the end, to extirpate the native ſtock, to change the conſtitution of the country, and, from auxiliary aids in commerce, to become maſters, and ſole poſſeſſors. A commercial people are therefore ſubject to political revolutions of the moſt violent nature from ſuch a meaſure; and in no country could this conſequence be ſo probable, as in a free ſtate like Great Britain; for a general naturalization ſuppoſes no bounds to be

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ſet as to numbers, profeſſions, political, or religious tenets, or exotic manners and cuſtoms; and the acquiſitions of property, from the profits of arts, manufactures, and commerce, could not, in this caſe, be circumſcribed; we will therefore ſuppoſe for a moment, that ſuch a general naturalization had taken place in England as ſhould cauſe a great influx of inhabitants, profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion; as ſoon as theſe had aquired property, and a majority of intereſt in different counties, is it likely they would ſuffer the preſent diſqualifications of perſons profeſſing that religion, which exclude them from the enjoyment of places of truſt and emolument in the ſtate? Certainly not; they would annul them; and then your boaſted conſtitution would loſe its main pillar, and fall to the ground. The ſame reaſoning muſt hold good with reſpect to Jews, Turks, and Pagans; yet a country wholly dependent on the flouriſhing ſtate of its arts and manufactures, as the baſis of univerſal commerce, without which it could not ſubſiſt, muſt run all theſe riſks; if extreme depopulation prevails, if the ſmall number of its manufacturing and labouring populace are idle, debauched, and luxurious to exceſs, and if government either neglects, or will not apply milder remedies in time.

A PARTIAL naturalization is not ſubject to the foregoing objections; on the contrary, the occaſional naturalization of ingenious, induſtrious artiſts and manufacturers, who bring with them new inventions, or improvements, or of opulent perſons, who add to the relative riches of the ſtate, proceeds on true commercial principles, and is adopted by all wiſe legiſlatures.

BUT a partial naturalization ſuppoſes exceptions and limitations both political and commercial. A proteſtant ſtate is left at liberty to chuſe only foreign proteſtants, and to prefer artiſts and manufacturers, to prieſts and monks, and, in general, to all uſeleſs, idle hands. Such a naturalization, therefore, in the hands of a diſcreet government, will always prove highly beneficial to commerce; and the moſt excellent method of conducting it is, that obſerved in England, by bringing bills into parliament for that purpoſe, where the expediency

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or inexpediency of the meaſure may be freely debated, before it takes place.

In caſe however, a nation ſhould be ſo circumſtanced, that its population cannot be ſufficiently increaſed, ſo as to ſupply the proper number of hands for its manufactures by partial naturalization; that the milder remedies before propoſed have failed; and yet, that matters are not in ſuch a deſperate ſituation, as to oblige government to have recourſe to a general naturalization, there is ſtill another door open to relief.

A GENERAL introduction of mechanical machines into arts and manufactures, to ſupply the labour of mankind.

To avoid a general naturalization, I would go any lengths; but under no other circumſtances, but thoſe of a plague, or a devaſtation by fire, inundation, or the ſword, ſhould ſuch machines receive the ſanction of government.

THE authors of any repute who have inveſtigated the queſtion, whether mechanical machines are prejudicial or beneficial to manufactures and trade, have treated the matter partially, having made no diſtinction between ſuch as ſerve to facilitate, ſhorten, or abridge the labour of mankind; and thoſe which have a tendency to leſſen their numbers, to diſcourage population, to defeat induſtry, and to impoveriſh a trading country. It will eaſily be perceived, that I do not mean to contend againſt the utility of the firſt; I readily admit, that all proper encouragement ought to be given to theſe, and that both reaſon and experience have demonſtrated their utility.

OF this kind are the plough, the common wind and water mills, hand-mills, all looms, and a variety of other inventions, too many to enumerate; every work of ingenuity and utility of this ſpecies, deſervedly meets with approbation and reward in all commercial nations, but in none to ſo great a degree as in England, for which we have been greatly indebted of late years to the laudable ſociety of whom I have already made honourable mention.

THE ingenious Mr. MOORE's new inventions ſeem to be of this claſs; for both his coach, and his cart, are intended to diminiſh the demand for

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for horſes throughout the kingdom, and, by that means, to lower the exorbitant price of proviſions, by turning more land into tillage, inſtead of purſuing the preſent abominable practice of increaſing paſture-lands; and whoever ſeriouſly conſiders all the bad conſequences of the following facts, muſt (if not biaſſed by ſelf-intereſt) wiſh well to ſuch inventions.

HALF the produce of the lands of England is now conſumed by horſes of various kinds, ſome kept for buſineſs, but more for parade and pleaſure.

AN horſe, at three years old, may be worth fifteen guineas; the beſt ox at that age is not worth more than eight.

THESE are abuſes of agriculture, which I mean more ſtrongly to impreſs on your minds in the general recapitulation of the elements of commerce, at the concluſion of that ſubject.

BUT the machines I never wiſh to ſee introduced into a commercial nation, (which is required to be fully peopled, that is, to have a ſufficient number of hands for all the claſſes of life already deſcribed) are SAW-MILLS, and inventions of that ſtamp, which are calculated to exclude the labour of thouſands of the human race, who are uſefully employed in dock-yards, in thoſe of timber-merchants, private ſhip, and houſe-builders, cabinet-makers, &c. A more pernicious ſcheme could not be deviſed. Nor was I at all ſurprized that ſuch an erection, in ſo populous a county as Middleſex, was ſecretly deſtroyed. It gave me concern, as it always will, to ſee the populace do themſelves juſtice in any inſtance; for this deſtroys the order of civil ſociety; but, I own, I was no leſs rejoiced to ſee the reward for the diſcovery of the offenders prove ineffectual. Indeed it would have been a pity to have had occaſion to arraign the clemency of a moſt merciful prince, which, I am afraid, would have been the caſe, had they been apprehended and convicted; for the demolition of Mr. Dingley's mill was deemed to be a piece of party-reſentment.

IT is poſſible there may be counties in England where one ſuch machine might be wanted, from the ſcarcity of hands for other branches; but ſurely every other expedient ſhould have been firſt

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tried; and here give me leave to hint at one, which I muſt neceſſarily reſume in another place. Would not our felons be much better employed in preventing the neceſſity of ſuch machines, than by tranſporting them?

REFLECTIONS on the deſtructive conſequences of machines of this nature, to the true intereſts of mankind, made the celebrated Monteſquieu find fault even with water-mills; and other modern writers, complain of the abuſe of mechaniſm, in carrying it to too great perfection. Inſtances of other machines, reſembling the ſaw-mills, have not occurred to me; I believe they are rare, becauſe they are very juſtly diſcouraged in populous countries.

IN ſhort, if we carefully review the reciprocal connection and dependency on each other, of agriculture, population, arts, manufactures, and inland trade; we cannot poſſibly give our aſſent to the general introduction of ſuch machines as have a tendency, by breaking one link in this regular chain, to derange and damage the whole.

I HAVE now, I believe, fully illuſtrated the commercial principles which give life and vigour to the circulation of inland trade, and I have applied them, as I proceeded, to the preſent ſtate of the uſeful arts and manufactures, chiefly as they regard the internal circumſtances of the kingdom, only occaſionally mentioning the different effects of true or falſe principles, on univerſal commerce, as they unavoidably occurred in this part of my work. My next buſineſs will be, to note the true principles of univerſal commerce, confining myſelf ſolely to that object, and to apply them to the preſent ſtate of the commerce of Great Britain, and her colonies.

PART

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PART IV.

ON UNIVERSAL COMMERCE.

IF we could ſuppoſe it poſſible for nations to ſubſiſt ſecure and happy within themſelves, without any commercial intercourſe with each other, we ſhould have no occaſion to extend our ſpeculations any farther; to ſay the truth, we need not, in that caſe, have taken the pains to point out and illuſtrate the principles by which agriculture, population, and manufactures, may be carried to their higheſt degree of perfection and ſucceſs; for neceſſity, the fruitful mother of invention, would naturally attach mankind to the labour requiſite to ſupply the preſſing wants of nature; the earth would, therefore, be cultivated, ſo as to produce food in a proportionate degree to the number of inhabitants living together in one community; the multiplication of the people would be in proportion to the food produced, and the demand for implements of labour, cloathing, and habitations, would, through the ſame neceſſity, give birth and ſubſiſtence to mechanic arts, and to ſome manufactures; finally, the reciprocal communications of the different orders of the people, in order to ſupply each others wants, would promote the circulation of inland trade, and ſupport a number of ſhopkeepers.

BUT all this might happen, without any extraordinary efforts of the human genius, or exciting any uncommon exertions of induſtry and application, by motives of profit and honour. All artificial wants being unknown in ſuch a ſociety, and no deſire entertained of improving their ſituation and circumſtances, they would not ſtand in need of any

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foreign products, to administer to the ease or convenience of life; nor could they think of sending any of their own out of their country, as they would have no idea of utility or benefit to be derived from any article, to be exchanged for them. The only foreign connection you could suppose them to have would be with their neighbours, whom, through motives of humanity, they might assist with food or raiment, if such assistance was implored, in times of scarcity and distress. But even this is granting rather too much in their favour; for it is a question, whether a people, so limited and confined in their notions, would be capable of sentiments of benevolence. It is the general opinion that they would not; for it is maintained, "that the common "offices of humanity, shewn by one nation to another, are founded "on the law of nations, the principles of which are derived from the "commercial intercourses of mankind."

Some political writers, and several philosophers, have bestowed great encomiums on such systems of nature as we have just described; they say, "That a people living without foreign commerce are virtuous, "frugal, temperate, and long-lived, being utter strangers to all the "vices which foreign luxuries introduce, and to those intemperate de-"bauches, which debilitate and wear out the human constitution;" they assert, "That, as they have less cause, they are not so subject to "quarrels, divisions, factions, tumults, insurrections, and murders, "as those nations where pride, ambition, and avarice, (passions which "the profits of commerce put in motion), hurry men on to the most "infamous excesses." But these are only the suggestions of visionary theorists, who, indulging themselves in a life of solitude, and shunning the busy world, contemplate nothing but the beauties of their own Arcadian plans, and the defects of great commercial nations.

There are two objections to societies of men subsisting without commerce, which destroy the whole airy fabric. They can neither provide for their security, nor guard against the calamities of famine; for it is commerce which gives strength and security to a nation, furnishing it with a maritime power; and it is commerce which procures a supply of the necessaries of life, when they fail at home, through bad seasons,

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ſeaſons, ſickneſs, or want of hands to cultivate the earth (from foreign ports) in exchange for the works of induſtry and art, fabricated in times of health and plenty. A nation without commerce is ever at the mercy of a powerful neighbour; their lives, and the neceſſaries of life they have produced for their ſubſiſtence, are held by a moſt precarious tenure; for the ſtrong arm of an invader, or conqueror may deprive them of both, whenever ambition, or the wants of his ſubjects, prompts him to the enterprize.

In ſhort, a people, ſo circumſtanced, could neither have fleets nor armies; for their population would not provide ſufficient numbers for the purpoſes of defenſive wars, nor would they be poſſeſſed of treaſures to purchaſe foreign aid, or to avert, by preſents, the deſigns of an ambitious neighbour: they could never acquire relative riches by internal trade, and, without them, they muſt be always weak and defenceleſs.

The truth of theſe obſervations appears from the conduct of all conſiderable nations in the known world, which are more or leſs engaged in commerce. The very few of little note that ſubſiſt without it, are in a ſavage ſtate, poor, miſerable, and brutal, a prey to each other, or to the firſt potent commercial people, who, with a view of gain, land an armed force on their territories, and reduce them to ſlavery.

But if even the civilized nations on the continent, from experiencing the advantages of univerſal commerce, are purſuing it at preſent with unremitted ardour, how much more are the inhabitants of Great Britain intereſted to make it their chief ſtudy, to ſupport and preſerve the extenſive commerce they now carry on to all quarters of the globe!

Great Britain derives all its importance, all its influence and credit with the chief continental powers of Europe, from its commerce. Its ſeat of empire is an iſland, expoſed to the attacks of any foreign enemy, capable of bringing a formidable fleet and army to invade it. We want therefore no ſupernatural gift to inform us, that we muſt always keep up a navy, ſo powerful, as to make us maſters of the ſeas, or at leaſt to enable us to guard our own coaſts againſt all hoſtile

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ſtile attempts. The defenceleſs ſtate of this iſland, for want of its proper guardian, a marine force, is well known, before the introduction of general commerce.

THE invaſions and conqueſts of the ROMANS, the SAXONS, and the DANES, are laſting memorials of the inconſiderable, contemptible figure this country made in the annals of the world, without commerce; and the ſtriking contraſt which the power and opulence of the the ſame little ſpot of earth now preſents, by means of its mercantile reſources; demonſtrates, beyond a poſſibility of contradiction, that every principle, ancient or modern, which can contribute to the extenſion and ſecurity of its commercial intereſts, ought to be cloſely ſtudied, and properly applied to practice, by all her patriotic citizens, according to their different capacities and ranks in life.

AGRICULTURE, the uſeful ARTS and MANUFACTURES, properly ſupported, encourage the multiplication of the people, and produce MERCHANDIZE; POPULATION and MERCHANDIZE ſupport NAVIGATION; commercial NAVIGATION is the baſis of a MARITIME FORCE; a MARITIME FORCE is the natural ſecurity of a kingdom, ſituated in an iſland; and if it is rendered ſuperior in ſtrength and valour to rival powers, will make ſuch a kingdom more potent and formidable than the moſt extenſive empire on the continent.

LET us now enquire on what principles univerſal commerce muſt be conducted, ſo as to anſwer the great and important purpoſes of ſupporting the power, riches, and proſperity of Great Britain and her colonies, to whoſe commercial intereſts I now mean to apply the general elements of commerce.

EXPORTATION, on the principle of BARTER, was the firſt operation of the commerce of the ancients; but, ſince the introduction of MONEY, as the medium of mercantile tranſactions, the idea of barter is become more confined, and diſuſed; I ſhall therefore, in conformity to the ſtyle of modern commercial writers, conſider exportation at large, uncombined with the literal definition of barter, as the firſt principle of modern commerce.

To direct this principle, and to make it operate the moſt beneficial effects to the community, ſhould be the grand concern of ADMINI-

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STRATION; and, in England, this important charge falls within the departments of the treaſury and the board of trade, with what propriety ſhall be hereafter ſhewn.

THE ſuperfluities of a country, whether conſiſting of the natural products of its domains, or of the works of art and induſtry, reſulting from the labour and ingenuity of its inhabitants, are the proper objects of profitable exportation.

BUT the great ſkill of a ſtateſman, or of the ſupreme directors of the commercial concerns of any nation, conſiſts in aſcertaining this ſuperfluity. For want of due attention to this point, exportation ſometimes proves highly impolitic, and the commerce founded on it extremely pernicious to the ſtate.

THERE cannot, properly ſpeaking, be a ſuperfluity of any commodity, uſually conſumed by the inhabitants, till the average demand, *communibus annis*, is ſupplied, and a quantity laid up in ſtore for home-conſumption, ſufficient to anſwer the extra-demands of the people, that may probably ariſe from contingent events.

THOUGH this rule ſhould be general, with reſpect to all articles of home-conſumption; as the cupidity of the farmer, the artiſt, the manufacturer, or the merchant, may often tempt individuals, for the ſake of large profits, to copious exportations, highly prejudicial to the public; it is more particularly binding with regard to proviſions, and the other neceſſaries of life. There are a number of articles in the liſt of the luxuries of life that we might diſpenſe with, if too large exports ſhould cauſe a ſcarcity; but without plenty of food and raiment, the operations of arts and manufactures will ſtagnate; and though commerce may flouriſh to appearance, by theſe partial exportations of the neceſſaries of life, for private gains, yet, in a ſhort time after, that will likewiſe decline, for want of freſh ſupplies of real ſuperfluities.

THE average produce and conſumption ſhould be ſtated for any given number of years, and theſe ſhould determine the quantity neceſſary to be laid up in ſtore, to provide againſt a calamitous ſcarcity. This, with reſpect to corn, will greatly depend on the climate, and the fertility of the ſoil, and therefore the eſtimation of the quantity conſti-

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tuſing a ſuperfluity muſt vary in different countries. What it is in England I am not able to aſcertain, nor is it my buſineſs to enter into arithmetical calculations, which, on this head, are ſo vague and diſcordant, that ſcarce two writers agree in the quantity of arable land, the uſual annual produce after a good harveſt, or the amount of our yearly conſumption.

It was imagined, before the ſcarcity in 1767, that a good year produced ſufficient for three; but lately, (whether it be owing to the vaſt increaſe of paſture-lands, or to ſome other latent cauſe, I cannot determine) it appears, that we do not grow above eighteen months proviſion in the beſt years. Certain it is, that government, before that period, never had any authentic information on the ſubject, otherwiſe our farmers and corn-factors would not have been ſuffered to export ſuch immenſe quantities to Spain and Italy in 1766, which expoſed us to the mortification of being laughed at by all Europe the following year, when we were obliged to ſend to the markets of France and Flanders, in ſearch of corn to feed our own people; becauſe we had ignorantly permitted the avarice of a few to ſuperſede the true principle of exportation, by ſhipping off a neceſſary, inſtead of a ſuperfluity.

Several commercial and political authors of repute, give it as a general maxim, "That during ſeven years of plenty, proviſion ſhould "be made for ſeven years of ſcarcity;" and though they confine it to corn, yet it muſt equally hold good with reſpect to the other neceſſaries of life.

There ſhould be ſeven years cloathing, as well as ſeven years food, in ſtore for the inhabitants, by the ſame rule; but, in ſhort, whatever be the quantity neceſſary to guard againſt public diſtreſs, it is the duty of government to be well aſſured, that there is a ſuperfluity beyond that ſtated quantity, before the ports are ſet open for exportation. For exportation, with a full aſſurance of national profit, is very diſtinct from private gain.

Before I cloſe this head, I muſt venture one remark.

If the landholders of England are of opinion, that the wealth which univerſal commerce brings into the nation is the cauſe of the increaſed

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value of their lands of late years, they can have but one joint intereſt, in common with the mercantile inhabitants, and, on that principle, they muſt encourage agriculture to ſuch a degree, as to make it an object of commerce, which can never be done by increaſing paſture-lands; but, if they think the home-conſumption ſufficient to keep up the value of their eſtates, it will be ſufficient for their purpoſe to grow corn enough for the inhabitants, and never to think of exporting it again; the graziers and the horſe-breeders may, in that caſe, form the majority of tenants all over England. But I apprehend, that as the chief food of mankind becomes dear and ſcarce, population will decline, the conſumption of animal food will diminiſh, manufactures will fail, and the price of lands conſequently fall. It is therefore my humble opinion, that it is the intereſt of the land-owners to encourage the moſt beneficial culture of their eſtates, which muſt certainly be, the growth of corn in ſuch quantities, that it may again be made an article of commerce.

NAVIGATION we have already noticed as the ſecond principle of commerce, without which the firſt could not poſſibly operate any very beneficial advantages to a nation; for the exports from one country to another by land, from the diviſions of land and ſeas, could at beſt be but very limited and confined, beſides being unprofitable, from the delays and expences of land-carriage.

BUT a third principle is ſtill wanting, to unite with the firſt, in order to give full ſtrength and activity to the ſecond, and that is IMPORTATION.

A NATION cannot poſſibly carry on an extenſive general commerce merely by exportation; for though the exports of a country ſhould be ever ſo conſiderable, and its natural products and manufactures were to be ſent to foreign countries, and ſold on the moſt advantageous terms, only a partial benefit would ariſe, favouring the individuals concerned in it, but not promoting the proſperity of the ſtate in a due proportion; becauſe, if the returns were all made in ſpecie, the ſhips that carried out our merchandize would come home light, and mercantile navigation would not be encouraged in ſuch a manner as to prove a nurſery for

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ſeamen, and to enable the ſtate to form a maritime force for the protection of her domains, and of the commerce of her ſubjects; which is the caſe, where the two principles of exportation and importation, properly applied, unite their operations to ſupport the employment of an immenſe quantity of ſhips and ſeamen.

When exportation and importation are properly conducted, they are the ſprings which regulate all the motions of the grand machine of commerce; but if any error happens, either through ignorance, inadvertency, avarice, or venality, in the direction of either; all the movements are diſordered, and the machine itſelf is either conſiderably impaired, or totally deſtroyed.

It is therefore my duty, in the next place, to offer to your conſideration, and ſubmit to your judgment, thoſe mercantile maxims and regulations for the management of both, which, in the opinions of the beſt commercial writers, are calculated to eſtabliſh and preſerve a flouriſhing ſtate of univerſal commerce.

I shall begin with the juſt maxims of exportation, becauſe we may naturally imagine they were the firſt commercial adventures in every country, in the infancy of its navigation.

I. We muſt export our natural products in the moſt improved ſtate they will bear; this is the object of arts and manufactures.

II. In our exportations we muſt not only take care that we ſend out the ſuperfluities our own people can beſt ſpare, but we muſt pay attention to the neceſſities of thoſe countries that demand our commodities. If they cannot poſſibly do without them, nor yet be furniſhed with them elſewhere, it is a commercial principle *, (not very liberal, I own) "to endeavour to ſell them dear, ſo far forth as the high price "cauſe not a leſs vent in the quantity. But the ſuperfluity of our com-"modities, which ſtrangers uſe, and may alſo have the ſame from "other nations, or may abate their vent by the uſe of ſome ſuch like "wares, from other places, and with little inconvenience; we muſt "in this caſe, ſtrive to ſell as cheap as we poſſibly can, rather than to "loſe the utterance of ſuch wares."

* See Mun's Engliſh Treaſure, by foreign Trade. Glaſgow Edit. 1755.

III. As

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III. As far as is conſiſtent with the political freedom of commerce, we muſt make our exports in our own ſhips; for, by this method, they will be made of threefold value to the ſtate. Firſt, Their intrinſic value: Secondly, The profits of freight and inſurance: And, Thirdly, The multiplication of our ſeamen.

IT is on this maxim that, in moſt commercial countries, the exportation of grain, and other neceſſaries of life, and of ammunition and ſtores, is prohibited to ſtrangers, or in foreign bottoms, being allowed only to natives, and in ſhips belonging to the country from whence the exports are made.

THE Britiſh act of trade and navigation proceeds on the broad baſis of this maxim, and thereby ſecures to the mother-country the trade of her colonies.

IV. IT is our intereſt to give thoſe exports the preference which are made to the moſt remote countries from the place where the commodities are ſhipped. The length of the voyage increaſing the burthen of the ſhipping, the profit on freight, the number of mariners, and the value of the objects of ſuch exports, ſo as to render the commerce more beneficial to individuals, and to the community, than any other carried on with countries nearer home.

V. THOSE exports will be highly advantageous, which are made to countries that ſupply us, in return, with the firſt materials for our arts and manufactures, with any neceſſaries of life for home-conſumption, or any commodities for exportation to other countries.

A TREBLE freight ariſes out of this kind of BARTER, which renders it more advantageous to the individuals concerned, and to the ſtate in general, than even returns in ſpecie, eſpecially ſince remittances in paper have become ſo general.

PERMIT me to illuſtrate this maxim by a familiar inſtance.

I SEND a cargo of woollen goods to Flanders in an Engliſh bottom, of which you will ſuppoſe me the owner. Finding no demand in England for any commodity from Flanders, I deſire my correſpondent to remit me the value of my merchandize in ſpecie; which he will

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do, by bill of exchange, or ordering me to draw on him; and here ends the commercial operation. With reſpect to my ſhip, it muſt either return in ballaſt, or time muſt be loſt, in procuring a back-freight.

But let me ſend my cargo, inſtead of Flanders, to Virginia, my ſhip may return with tobacco, bartered for my woollen goods; here, a ſecond freight is immediately gained: part of the tobacco being deſtined for home-conſumption, a duty to the ſtate is paid on importation, to the advantage of its revenues. The remainder of the cargo I re-export to Germany; thus, a third freight accrues: and, if I barter again in Germany, there is a probability that a fourth profit of freight will be gained by the ſhip, before this compound mercantile operation (which had its origin in my exportation of our manufactures) is finally completed.

VI. The exportation of our natural products and manufactures, ſhould be free from all duties.

VII. If, from the particular circumſtances of a nation, it be found neceſſary to depart from this maxim, and to impoſe duties outwards, on our native commodities, great care ſhould be taken, that the buſineſs of the merchants-exporters may not ſuffer any delay at the cuſtom-houſe, through embarraſſing formalities; the clerks ſhould be enjoined to uſe their utmoſt diligence in diſpatching outward-bound ſhips, and they ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed for neglect upon theſe occaſions; for the loſs of one tide is very often the overthrow of a voyage *.

VIII. It is ſometimes neceſſary to give bounties on our natural products, and on our manufactures, proper for exportation, as an encouragement to the cultivators, and the proprietors of manufactories, to ſtimulate them to ſuch exertions of induſtry, as may be the means of producing the largeſt ſuperfluity or overplus, beyond the quantities required for home-conſumption, that ſo univerſal commerce be rendered more extenſive and beneficial.

The bounty on corn has been already mentioned, and the objections to it properly ſtated; it remains only to obſerve, in this place, that

* See Cary on Trade. London, printed for T. Oſborne, 1745.

thoſe

thoſe on Britiſh-made ſail-cloth, on Britiſh manufactures of ſilk, and on Britiſh and Iriſh linens, have never been liable to any objection whatever; but, on the contrary, are generally acknowledged to have been the means of bringing thoſe manufactures to the higheſt degree of perfection, and of making them articles of univerſal commerce; whereas, before thoſe bounties were granted, they only furniſhed ſufficient quantities for home-conſumption.

IX. It is beneficial to export bullion and coin, as well as the natural products and manufactures of a kingdom; and it contributes to increaſe our treaſures, inſtead of exhauſting them, as ſome writers pretend.

It has been a popular error for ages, to exclaim againſt ſending bullion and coin out of the kingdom of Great Britain; and the millions of bullion exported to India, till within theſe few years, was one of the heavieſt complaints brought againſt the Eaſt India company. It is generally ſuppoſed, that money carried out of the realm creates a loſs of ſo much treaſure on the balance of trade; and alſo that it is a direct violation of an act of parliament made to prevent it. The example of Spain (the ſource of money) is brought to prove, that the exportation of it is impolitic.

But it is obſerved, on the other hand, that Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Holland, permit it, and find the greateſt benefits from making it an article of commerce.

Thoſe who wrote againſt the exportation of bullion formerly, had no conception of the vaſt fabric of mercantile credit, which has ſince been erected upon the honour and good faith of the reputable merchants of all the commercial ſtates of Europe. They could have no idea of our extenſive paper-circulation, both at home and abroad, which has quite altered the face of commercial affairs, and enabled us to export bullion and coin on advantageous terms, while an eighth part of the quantity of coin formerly required, is ſufficient for the purpoſes of internal circulation.

And thoſe, who are ſo obſtinate as to maintain at preſent, the theory of prohibiting the exportation of coin and bullion, know very little of the

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the nature of commercial credit and paper-currency, both of which are ſubſtituted in the place of the precious metals, and have ſuch an influence on the operations of inland trade, that they leave the merchants at full liberty to export a reaſonable quantity of bullion and coin, without prejudicing the commercial intereſts of the ſtate.

IT is now univerſally known, that it is not any given quantity of the precious metals, carefully kept in a nation, and prohibited to be exported out of it, that makes ſuch a nation the richer. The very reverſe is experienced in Spain, which, with all its mines of gold and ſilver, is poor and feeble: whereas ſome free ſtates, particularly that of Holland, by trading with money, have created treaſures, and increaſed both the natural and relative riches of their country. The miſtake lies, and a very great one it is, in ſuppoſing that the balance of trade is always to be formed by eſtimating the quantity of the precious metals we receive in that balance; whereas the true balance conſiſts in the amount of our good debts abroad, and of our marketable merchandize at home, over and above what we owe to other nations.

THE ultimate balance of trade is reckoned in money; and it is by this ſcale that the profits of trade are uſually computed. But as money itſelf is of no further uſe, but merely as a kind of inſtrument for the circulation of products or commodities, a very beneficial commerce may be carried on between two different nations, without any of them having any money to receive at the cloſe of their accounts. Not only the mariners navigating the ſhips, but alſo the whole train of artificers employed in the various branches of manufactures, bred and nouriſhed by ſuch a commerce, innumerable brokers, &c. gain all of them a comfortable ſubſiſtence; each country is accommodated with what it wanted of the products of the other, and the merchants on all ſides increaſe in wealth, though at laſt their accounts are even as to money, or yet though one pays a balance in money to the other.

"EACH merchant is a gainer, and ſo is his country, if his re-
"turns, after paying all his expences of the voyage, are worth more

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" at home, or will purchaſe again a greater quantity of goods than he " had exported *."

A BALANCE paid in money doth not neceſſarily infer a loſs by commerce. Suppoſe that laſt year Great Britain paid a balance upon the whole of its foreign trade, of one hundred thouſand pounds in ſpecie, but that the national ſtock of neceſſaries, of valuable materials for our manufactures, of naval ſtores for our ſecurity, and of commodities proper to be re-exported to advantage, were augmented to double that amount; by the vulgar erroneous way of reckoning, we muſt have loſt the laſt year one hundred thouſand pounds by our commerce; yet it muſt be evident to every rational man, that we have gained, by this courſe of foreign exchanges, no leſs than one hundred thouſand pounds; and it might ſo happen, that we could not have made this gain, without exporting bullion and coin, as well as paying a final balance in them.

FOR inſtance, if a ſhip is bound to a port, partly laden with corn from Great Britain, and having other merchandize on board for a different country; does it follow, if the owner or maſter knows that he can take in, at the port where he is to deliver his corn, double the amount in materials for the manufactures of his country, that he ſhall not carry out a ſum of money to purchaſe commodities, that will prove profitable to him, and add to the valuable ſtock of his country.

IN fine, there are but two reaſonable exceptions to the exportation of coin; the one is, when ſo great a quantity is carried out, that there is not a ſufficient currency in the nation, to be the medium of our internal exchanges at home.

IT is ſuppoſed this has frequently been the caſe with reſpect to our ſilver coin; but it is a miſtake: our ſilver coin is hoarded by the bank, by bankers, pay-offices, &c. as an expedient againſt extraordinary, unforeſeen, ſudden demands, that they may avoid the diſcredit of ſtopping payment, by making ſatisfaction in ſilver---an operation which gains time, and affords an opportunity for the freſh receipts of money, to balance the extra-demand.

* See Harris's Treatiſe on Money and Coins.

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THE ſecond exception is, when money is ſent out of the kingdom, never to be returned in profitable commodities, or indeed in any. This is the caſe, when travellers carry it out to expend in foreign countries, which have no commerce with us; or to beſtow it on countries, whoſe inhabitants are our natural rivals in arts and arms; thereby furniſhing them with the ſinews of war, and one of the reſources of commerce. The law has wiſely provided a remedy againſt this evil, by empowering the collectors of the cuſtoms, or their ſearchers, to ſeize any ſums of gold coin, amounting to one hundred guineas, found in the baggage of any perſon about to leave the kingdom, not declared, and duly entered (by licence) as an article of commerce. But this law, like many others, is become obſolete, through indolence, and a falſe indulgence to perſons of high rank, who go to France, Italy, and the Spa in Germany, for health or pleaſure.

THESE exceptions apart, it is a true principle of commerce to export bullion and coin *; and it will be ſtill more evident, that no diſadvantage can poſſibly ariſe from it, if a due regard be paid to the laſt maxim of exportation I ſhall have occaſion to mention.

X. THE riches of a commercial country will depend on its exports of native products and manufactures, and its re-exports of foreign commodities, exceeding in quantity and value, the amount of its imports for home-conſumption.

BUT the calculation on this head muſt not be made in a partial, limited manner, which is too often the caſe. The exports, imports, and re-exports of no particular year muſt form this balance. It muſt be an average amount of ſome given number of years, which may allow time for the diſpoſing of the exceſs of the imports in any one year, by

* IT is in the ſtock of the kingdom, as in the eſtates of private men, who, having ſtore of wares, do not therefore ſay, they will not venture out, or trade with their money, (for this were ridiculous); but do alſo turn that into wares, whereby they multiply their money; and ſo, by a continual and orderly change of one into the other, grow rich, and, when they pleaſe, turn all their eſtate into treaſure; for the proverb ſays, *he that hath wares, hath money by the year.*

Mun, Chap. iv. *On the Exportation of our Moneys, as a Means to increaſe our Treaſure.*

re-exportation.

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re-exportation. It is a capital miſtake of almoſt all our commercial writers, to make the balance of trade conſiſt in the exports exceeding the imports in value. They advance this as a general, unexceptionable maxim of commerce. In treating of the real balance of commerce, I ſhall ſtate my objections to this rule as a general one, and endeavour to eſtabliſh a juſt criterion, by which a maritime, manufacturing kingdom, like Great Britain, may aſcertain when the balance of univerſal commerce is in her favour.

XI. GREAT care ſhould be taken, that no article of cuſtomary export ſhould totally fall off. If it is ſuſpended for a time, through any extraordinary cauſe, it is the duty of the adminiſtrators of the commercial affairs of a maritime ſtate, to repreſent to the legiſlature the deficiency in the exports occaſioned thereby, that ſuch laws may be enacted, as will have a tendency to revive the ſuſpended branch of commerce, eſpecially if it has proved highly beneficial to the general intereſt.

ALL authorities, ancient and modern, ſubſcribe to the rectitude of this principle:

THAT the true intereſt of trading nations depends upon having a vigilant eye over their exports and imports. We will, therefore, in the next place, attempt to inveſtigate the true maxims of importation.

I. THE firſt objects of importation in a manufacturing country are, the raw materials to be employed in their various works of art and induſtry. It follows, that, in our commercial connections, we muſt give the preference to thoſe nations which ſupply us with them in the greateſt abundance, and on the moſt reaſonable terms, even though they conſume little or none of our products or manufactures, and that we are obliged to pay for them in ſpecie.

IT will be policy to grant all poſſible indulgencies to ſuch countries; ſlight injuries muſt not be haſtily reſented; and, in fact, a ſort of dependency will ariſe, which muſt ſubject a nation, requiring theſe foreign materials for her manufactures, to many inconveniencies. The great utility of raiſing the firſt materials for manufactures at home, or (if the ſoil will not admit of that) the expediency of planting colonies,

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or of encouraging thoſe already eſtabliſhed to cultivate theſe articles, is ſelf-evident. We ſhall ſee hereafter the importance of the Britiſh colonies to the mother country, on this conſideration alone.

II. No import-duties ſhould be laid on ſuch articles entering the nation where they are wanted, nor ſhould they be ſubject to the formalities and delays in landing them, to which other merchandize are liable; proper inſpection being made, they ſhould be diſcharged, landed, and expedited, with all poſſible diſpatch, to the inland provinces where they are to be employed.

III. If ſuch encouragement be found requiſite, BOUNTIES muſt be given to the merchants importing ſuch articles, to excite them to employ their capitals and their ſhipping, in bringing them home, in preference to other commodities.

IV. The importations of a manufacturing country muſt chiefly conſiſt of the products of other countries in their native ſtate, or with as little labour as poſſible beſtowed on them; that the poor labouring ſubjects of the nation importing them may find employment in preparing and perfecting them for the uſe of the manufacturers.

V. IMPORTS of manufactured, or finiſhed commodities, ſhould only be admitted from countries receiving from the importers a greater quantity, and more in value, of their natural products, or manufactures.

THERE is an exception to this rule, which makes it require illuſtration. Suppoſe Great Britain, at a time when its government permits the exportation of corn, ſhould ſend annually to any country to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, but that the ſame country never demanded any of our manufactures, it would nevertheleſs be to our advantage to permit the importation of their manufactured commodities (not interfering with ſimilar manufactures of our own) to very near the ſame amount; for a profit would be gained in the firſt inſtance on the corn exported; a ſecond would accrue to navigation, from the employment of ſhips and mariners to tranſport it; and a third to the revenue, from the duties on importation.

BUT there are circumſtances which will admit of a reverſal of the rule

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rule itſelf; that is to ſay, the imports may exceed the amount of the exports, and ſtill be beneficial to the importing nation, though the exports ſhould conſiſt only of natural products, (ſuch as corn), and the imports of manufactured commodities. Suppoſe there is a large demand on Great Britain from a third country, (with which ſhe carries on a profitable commerce), for the manufactured commodities you draw from the place where you ſend your corn; you have no limitation in ſuch a caſe to ſet to your imports, but that which the demand dictates; you may even pay a balance in ſpecie for the manufactured commodities, and, after all, greatly promote the commercial intereſt of your own country *.

VI. IMPORTS of manufactured commodities, from countries which conſume your moſt ſtaple commodities, ſhould be encouraged, even tho' you have manufactures of the ſame articles at home, provided always, that you lay a duty of at leaſt fifteen per cent on the imported commodity; for, if your own manufacture cannot vie with the foreign one, after it has paid this duty, the charges of freight, inſurance, the merchant-importer's profit, and other incidental expences; it ought not to be encouraged; individuals may gain by it; but the eſtabliſhment is a loſs to the nation, and the poor labouring people may be better employed than in ſuch undertakings.

VII. IMPORTS of manufactured commodities, from countries which do not conſume any of the manufactures of the country importing them, ought to be entered only for re-exportation; but the permitting them to be imported for home-conſumption, though they were to pay a duty of forty per cent, is highly impolitic, and, if you have a rival manufacture at home, it is pernicious in the extreme.

* A true meaſure of any particular trade, as to the profit or loſs of the nation thereby, cannot be taken by the conſideration of ſuch trade in itſelf ſingly, but as it ſtands in reference, and is ſubſervient to the general trade of the kingdom; for it may ſo fall out, that there may be ſome places, to which little of our Engliſh manufactures are exported, and yet the commodities we have from thence may be ſo neceſſary to the carrying on our trade in general to other countries, or ſome other particular trades, that without them the nation would greatly decline and decay in foreign trade.

Sir Joſiah Child on Trade, London Edit. 1693.

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THE univerſal conſumption of French blond laces, by our unthinking ladies of quality, and rich citizens wives, to the detriment of our Engliſh blond manufactory, to the almoſt entire excluſion of Flanders thread lace; by which means we have loſt a great branch of commerce to that country, in woollen cloths and ſtuffs, and, finally, to the menacing our thread lace manufactories with deſtruction; is a fatal, ſtanding evidence of the truth of this maxim.

THE conſumers of French manufactures in Great Britain ſhould be conſidered as petty traitors, and puniſhed ſeverely; for they enrich our natural rivals, who can make us no returns of the money ſent out of the kingdom for this needleſs article of luxury, in compliance with the vitiated taſte of our people, whom the dæmon of faſhion tempts to injure their country in ſo tender a point as her commerce.

THERE are many other articles of French commodities fooliſhly and traiterouſly conſumed here; but I notice blond and black ſilk laces in particular, not only on account of the univerſality of the faſhion, which makes the amount of the conſumption very conſiderable, but becauſe this folly has unfortunately laſted many years, and does not ſeem to be ſubject to the uſual revolutions of faſhions, which are frequent and ſudden.

VIII. CLANDESTINE importations ſhould be prevented by the ſevereſt laws, and by the moſt rigorous, diligent, indefatigable exertions of the power and ſtrength of government, in carrying them into effectual execution; for they are felonies in commerce of the moſt capital kind. I am ſorry to ſay, that, when I recapitulate the elements of commerce, and point out wherein we adhere to, or deviate from them, I ſhall be obliged to demonſtrate that this maxim reſpecting importations is not properly attended to by the directors of our commercial affairs.

IX. ALL merchandize imported ſolely for the purpoſe of re-exportation to other countries, ſhould be enterable duty free.

A VERY great branch of the Britiſh commerce conſiſts in re-exportations, and that chiefly of commodies imported from her own colonies, which, for obvious reaſons, ought to be put upon the footing of our native

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native exports, Yet the preſent method of tranſacting this buſineſs at the cuſtom-houſe is tedious, perplexing, and expenſive, as well as contrary to the principles of commerce which reſpect colonization---But of this in its proper place.

COMMODITIES deſigned for re-exportation are ſubject to duties on importation into Great Britain, and, when re-exported, either the whole, or part of the duties are returned, according to the ſeveral acts of parliament for that purpoſe, by a mode of operation called DRAW-BACKS, by debentures or certificates on oath, which is attended with many embarraſſing circumſtances, is ſubject to a variety of frauds and impoſitions on the government, is a terrible impediment to this branch of commerce with reſpect to the ſubject, and a grievance of the firſt magnitude.

WITH reſpect to the government, one third of the preſent number of officers, and conſequently of the expences, would be ſufficient to prevent all impoſitions in the free entry and cuſtody of merchandize, in public warehouſes belonging to the cuſtom-houſe, for the purpoſe of re-exportation.

As to the merchants, it is a very great hardſhip to oblige them to make depoſits in ready money to a conſiderable amount, for ſuch commodities as are deſtined to be ſent out again; and it may often oblige them to make unprofitable, haſty re-exportations, becauſe they want to be reimburſed by the draw-backs.

A SMALL tranſit duty for the uſe of the king's warehouſes, officers, &c. is all that ought to be paid on the entrance of merchandize for re-exportation.

IN the Auſtrian Netherlands, it is one half per cent; and the port of Oſtend, which had loſt almoſt all its commerce, is now rivaling that of Hamburgh, owing to this new regulation, which took place in 1766, while I reſided there.

HAVING ſtated the general maxims of exportation and importation, which are the vitals of commerce, it will be proper, in the next place, to reſume, and thoroughly to diſcuſs a ſubject, which has greatly divided our commercial writers, and on which the moſt intelligent merchants differ in opinion.

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I HAVE already hinted, that incorporated mercantile companies, enjoying charters, (which guaranty to them certain rights and privileges, to the excluſion of the other ſubjects of a ſtate, not members of theſe commercial ſocieties), are eſtabliſhments founded on true commercial principles; and I promiſed to maintain this argument againſt all the objections that have been urged againſt them. I will now endeavour to diſcharge this obligation with honour.

ON

ON PUBLIC COMMERCIAL COMPANIES.

THE grand queſtion before us, for our deliberate conſideration, and final judgment, is, Whether the immediate proſperity, and future ſecurity of univerſal commerce is beſt provided for by the eſtabliſhment of public companies, (enjoying the ſanction of government, and peculiar privileges, but ſubject, at the ſame time, to political reſtrictions), or by granting a free and unlimited licence of commerce to every individual of a ſtate, who conforms himſelf to its commercial laws and cuſtoms?

I HAVE endeavoured to ſtate this queſtion with all poſſible preciſion, and yet, I hope, I have done it in ſuch clear and ample terms, that there can be no room left to charge me with any omiſſion. If any gentleman thinks he can amend it, he will do me great honour to propoſe his alterations before I proceed *.

IT is neceſſary to be very delicate, when we have the unpopular ſide of a queſtion to defend, and are combating againſt the prejudices and paſſions of mankind, eſpecially when theſe prejudices and paſſions are countenanced and ſtrengthened by very great authorities. Such is the preſent caſe---Several authors of repute oppoſe my ſentiments, and their writings are the baſis of the opinions of the ſpeculative theoriſts of the preſent times: many of theſe are members of parliament, and reſpectable merchants; and we

* THE majority of my readers will be pleaſed to pardon the perſonal addreſſes occaſionally introduced into this work, when they recollect, that a ſketch of it was delivered in public lectures: a pauſe being made, and no gentleman propoſing any amendment, the queſtion was diſcuſſed as it now ſtands.

may

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may all remember the eloquent ſpeeches that were made in the houſe of commons againſt chartered companies, when the affairs of the Eaſt India company were before that houſe, in the years 1767 and 1768. The ſubſtance of the objections to ſuch limitations of commerce, I ſhall lay before you, and I flatter myſelf I ſhall anſwer them to your ſatisfaction.

COMPANY, in commerce, is defined to be, an aſſociation of ſeveral merchants, and others, who unite in one common intereſt, and contribute by their ſtock, their counſel, and their ſtudy, to the ſetting on foot, or ſupporting, ſome lucrative eſtabliſhment. There is alſo another ſort of mercantile aſſociations, called companies, who trade not upon a joint ſtock, but only enter into a legal contract to carry on particular branches of commerce, under certain regulations.

THE commerce of Great Britain is carried on partly by companies of the two kinds juſt mentioned, and partly by private merchants.

FORMERLY we reckoned nine public commercial companies in England: viz. the Hamburgh, Ruſſia, Eaſtland, Turkey, Eaſt-India, Royal African, Canary, Hudſon's Bay, and South Sea. I place them in the order of their ſeveral foundations.

OF all theſe companies only three remain of any note, which carry on their commerce by joint ſtock, and enjoy excluſive privileges under charters confirmed by act of parliament; theſe are the Hudſon's Bay, the Eaſt India and South Sea companies. With reſpect to the others, the trade of ſome of them is thrown open to all the ſubjects of Great Britain, and any perſon may be admitted a member of the reſt, by paying a very ſmall fine, and agreeing to ſubmit to their reſpective bye-laws or regulations. I may therefore take the liberty to draw the queſtion into a narrower compaſs, by applying the general objections againſt all excluſive rights and privileges to the two capital companies now actually enjoying ſuch rights and privileges in Great Britain.

THE earlieſt, and indeed the moſt reſpectable advocate for unlimited commerce, in oppoſition to companies, is Sir Joſiah Child, whoſe arguments I ſhall give in his own words.

"ALL reſtrictions of trade are naught; and conſequently no com-

"pany

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" pany whatſoever, whether they trade in a joint ſtock; or under regu-
" lation, can be for public good, except it may be eaſy for all, or any
" of his majeſty's ſubjects, to be admitted into all, or any of the ſaid
" companies, at any time, for a very inconſiderable fine; and if
" the fine exceed twenty pounds, it is too much, and that for theſe
" reaſons.

" BECAUSE the Dutch, who thrive beſt by trade, and have the
" ſureſt rules to thrive by, admit not only any of their own people,
" but even Jews, and all kinds of aliens, to be free of any of their
" ſocieties of merchants, or any of their cities or towns corporate.

" NOTHING in the world can enable us to cope with our rivals, the
" Dutch, (we will here ſubſtitute the French in the place of the Dutch)
" in any trade, but increaſe of hands and ſtock, which a general ad-
" miſſion will do; many hands and much ſtock being as neceſſary to
" the proſperity of any trade, as men and money to warfare.

" THERE is no pretence of any good to the nation by companies,
" but only order and regulation of trade; and if that be preſerved,
" (which the admiſſion of all that will come in, and ſubmit to the re-
" gulation, will not prejudice) all the good to the nation that can be
" hoped for by companies, will be obtained."

HE then inſtances the diſadvantages our eaſt country, and Ruſſia trade laboured under in his time, from the management of their reſpective companies in England, whereby our trade to theſe countries was in effect wholly loſt, while the Dutch, without companies, increaſed theirs to above forty times the amount of ours: from whence, he ſays, may be inferred,

" I. THAT reſtrained, limited companies are not alone ſufficient to
" preſerve and increaſe a trade.

" II. THAT limited companies, though eſtabliſhed by act of parlia-
" ment, may loſe a trade.

" III. THAT trade may be carried on to any part of Chriſtendom,
" and increaſed, without companies.

" IV. THAT we have declined more, at leaſt have increaſed leſs,

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" in thoſe trades limited to companies, than in others, where all his " majeſty's ſubjects have had equal freedom to trade *"

It is to be obſerved, that Sir Joſiah Child's arguments are extended to private companies, and to corporation privileges, proving them equally detrimental to inland trade, as public companies to commerce; and indeed every objection to the one, is equally concluſive to the others, and proceeds upon the very ſame principle, " that of allowing " free and unlimited licence to trade, both at home and abroad, to all " the ſubjects of a free ſtate."

Mr. cary, in his diſcourſe on trade, particularly finds fault with the India company, as a pernicious eſtabliſhment; becauſe, in his time, they exported our bullion, and very little of our natural products or manufactures, while they brought home great quantities of commodities perfectly manufactured, which hindered the conſumption of our own, and diſcouraged the wearing of ſuch as were purchaſed with them †. But the ſtate of our India company's affairs is quite altered of late years; and we ſhall make it appear, before we quit this ſubject, that our commerce to the Eaſt Indies, on its preſent footing, is one of the chief ſources of the power and commercial proſperity of Great Britain.

It is indeed greatly to be lamented, that our moſt celebrated commercial writers have employed their pens principally in deſcribing the ſtate of trade in their time, in pointing out defects in its adminiſtration, and in propoſing remedies ſuited to the ſituation and circumſtances of the kingdom when they wrote, inſtead of giving us the general, invariable elements of commerce, and illuſtrating maxims, which no change of time, or alterations in the ſtate of trade, can invalidate. This is what renders moſt of them in a great meaſure uſeleſs.

Thus, when Mr. Cary complained of the Eaſt India company, they exported very little of our manufactures; whereas, at preſent, they

* See Sir Joſiah Child's Diſcourſe on Trade, Chap. iii. *Concerning Companies of Merchants.*

† Cary on Trade, Edit. 1745.

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ſend out a conſiderable quantity, conſiſting of a variety of articles. In ſhort, a kind of revolution, highly advantageous to Great Britain, has taken place within the laſt twenty years, in ſeveral branches of commerce, which makes their different plans and ſtates of her commerce with the four quarters of the globe erroneous, and all their theories founded thereon quite obſolete.

Two thirds of the treatiſes on trade by Sir Joſiah Child, Mr. Cary, Mr. De Foe, Mr. Gee, and others, are filled with details of the exports and imports of England, and balances of trade in their days; and though the editor of a late edition of Gee has taken ſome pains to elucidate the preſent ſtate of our commerce with Portugal, he has left moſt of the erroneous accounts of the commerce with other countries, as he found them.

THE preſent work being intended to communicate the true elements of commerce, I ſhall only, in a ſummary way, notice, in its proper place, the preſent ſituation of thoſe branches of commerce which are founded on true principles, knowing how ſubject mercantile affairs are to great alterations; and, I hope, the general and permanent principles it contains, will make it more valuable to poſterity, than any preceding treatiſe on the commercial art.

THE alterations in our commercial connections deſtroy many of the objections to the exiſtence of our preſent chartered companies, which induced me to make this little digreſſion with reſpect to former writers. But authors, of a more modern date, and gentlemen of repute and ſkill in mercantile affairs now living, who reaſon from the preſent ſtate of commerce, advance other arguments, which require a ſolid refutation.

SEVERAL eſſays have been printed, from the year 1750, to the preſent time, in which it is laid down, as an inconteſtible truth,

"THAT all monopolies and excluſive charters are contrary to the "true intereſts of a commercial ſtate, and ought to be ſuppreſſed."

THE Turky, South Sea, and India companies, are ſtiled MONOPOLIES, and each of them is more particularly attacked in theſe pamphlets, as the authors conſidered them to be more or leſs pernicious to the

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commonwealth. In one, called An Eſſay on the Cauſes of the Decline of our foreign Trade *, it is ſaid, "That every company that has an "exclusive charter, prevents the increaſe of the ſale of our manufac- "tures abroad;" and he attempts to prove this by the conduct of the East India company. "It is not the intereſt of the East India com- "pany to increaſe the quantity of woollens they export, but rather to "contract them, (which, I ſuppoſe, was the reaſon for obliging "them, by their charter, to export woollen to a certain amount); "for at all markets, where there are any demands for goods, the "ſmallneſs of the quantities naturally enhances the price; and if the "company can gain as much on the ſale of five thouſand cloths, as "on the ſale of ten thouſand, is it not their intereſt to prefer the leſſer "quantity, on account of the leſs diſburſement and riſk? though it "is plain the nation would loſe the ſale of one half of the manufac- "tures capable of being vended; whereas private traders, puſhing "againſt one another, ſtudy to increaſe the vent of their goods, by "ſelling at moderate profits, making the quantities anſwer to them- "ſelves and their country."

AN objection of another nature is ſtated in the ſame eſſay. "The "large charges the East India and South Sea companies are forced to "be at, for the ſalaries of directors, governors, ſupercargoes, &c. "make theſe companies neglect all trades that will not yield extraor- "dinary profits, which trades private merchants would be glad of, "and would turn to good account for themſelves and their country."

ANOTHER writer (Captain Dobbs) ſays, "The company avoid, all "they can, making diſcoveries to the northward of CHURCHILL, or "extending their trade that way, for fear they ſhould diſcover a paſſage "to the weſtern ocean of America, and tempt, by that means, the "reſt of the Engliſh merchants to lay open their trade, (which they "know they have no legal right to); and which, if the paſſage was "found, would not only animate the reſt of the merchants to purſue "the trade through that paſſage, but alſo to find out the great advan-

* London, printed for Brotherton, 1750.

"tages

" tages that might be made of the trade of the rivers and countries " adjoining to the bay; by which means they would loſe their beloved " monopoly."

IT would be equally fruitleſs and tedious to cite paſſages from all the anonymous writings that have appeared in our news-papers againſt excluſive charters; or attacking the Eaſt India company in particular; for that alone can furniſh matter of envy and diſcontent. I ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, that, in moſt of them, it has been aſſerted, that the balance of trade is againſt us, with reſpect to the Eaſt India company; becauſe we import from the Eaſt Indies more than we export.

BUT the moſt popular argument againſt chartered companies, which has been advanced with much patriotic zeal and eloquence in parliament, is, " That they are incompatible with the free conſtitution of this country, and are direct violations of the rights and privileges of every ſubject of Great Britain, excluded by them from the benefits of any branch of commerce." We have been told, that every individual in a free ſtate is entitled to employ his induſtry and abilities in the manner he judges moſt conducive to his welfare, provided he does not injure his neighbour, nor tranſgreſs the laws of the land.

HE ſhould therefore be at liberty to purſue the benefits of trade, wherever he can find them, and not be reſtrained from exporting to any part of the world, or importing into his own country, all ſuch commodities as are allowed, by the general trading laws of the nation, to be the objects of ſuch commerce.

I HAVE not been able, in the courſe of my reading and obſervation, to trace any more objections to limited companies, than thoſe I have now ſtated; if any have eſcaped me, I think, I may ſafely ſay, they are of ſo little conſequence, as not to deſerve our notice. I ſhall, therefore, in the next place, endeavour to obviate them, and to ſhew that our preſent excluſive companies ſubſiſt on the true principles of commerce, are highly beneficial to the trading intereſt of the community, and do not infringe on the native rights and privileges of individuals.

SIR JOSIAH CHILD admits, that order and regulation in trade is a benefit

benefit to the nation, and beſt preſerved in companies; but, we may enlarge this idea, and fairly conclude, that it was the neceſſity of putting commerce under certain rules and regulations, not ſo advantageous to individuals, but more equitable and beneficial to the commonwealth, which gave riſe to public trading companies in the free ſtates of Europe, and particularly in that of Great Britain.

It is well known, that the great object of all trade, whether conducted by individuals or companies, is GAIN. But individuals are more apt to purſue it through indirect means, than public companies, which are ſubject to the political reſtraints of government. Private perſons, being under no regulations, but thoſe of the general laws of commerce, which prohibit the exportation or importation of particular articles, may, for a long time, carry on a traffic highly profitable to themſelves, but extremely prejudicial to their country, without violating thoſe general laws; for, as we have obſerved in another place, the cupidity of the farmer, the merchant, or the factor, may tempt them to make copious exportations of any article, contrary to the intereſt of the nation. This was evidently the caſe with reſpect to the exportation of corn, at the time of laying on the embargo. Had this branch been in the hands of a public company, it could not well have happened; for the contending intereſts in ſuch companies, their open aſſemblies, their public debates, and their ſituation with reſpect to parliament, (many of their aſſociates being likewiſe members of parliament), all combine to give government an opportunity of inſpecting into, and controuling the adminiſtration of their affairs, when they are found to be carrying on any branch of commerce detrimental to the nation. It is exactly the ſame with regard to imports; private individuals may find it very advantageous to import uſeleſs articles of foreign luxury, extremely hurtful to their country; and, while a fortune is to be made more rapidly by ſuch exports and imports, than by thoſe which ſerve the nation's intereſt, more than that of the private ſubject, they will pay the greateſt attention to ſuch branches of commerce, in preference to all others.

Competition, or rivalry, between private adventurers, has often proved

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proved the bane of particular branches of commerce; but when it ſubſiſts between the public company of one nation, and that of another, its rival in arms, arts, and commerce, it generally proves highly beneficial to that nation, whoſe commercial affairs are conducted by their company, with the moſt ſkill and integrity.

THE intrigues and cabals of private inland traders; the ſtratagems and unfair practices they make uſe of to undermine each other; the frequent failures, which are the conſequences of theſe baſe tranſactions, demonſtrate but too evidently, that the luſt of gain, left to itſelf, will obliterate all ſentiments of humanity, and every obligation to civil ſociety. The ſame cauſe will produce the ſame effects in general commerce; and I will venture to affirm, that there cannot be a more deſtructive meaſure propoſed, with reſpect to any one branch of commerce, than to ſuffer private Britiſh ſubjects to carry it on, without any limitations or reſtrictions (except the cuſtom-houſe laws) from government. Inſtead of rivaling foreigners, the competitors of their country, they would ſupplant each other; and, if an extraordinary profit were to accrue from it, perhaps purchaſe the manufactures of rival nations, and ſend them to foreign markets, under the denomination of Britiſh. A felony in commerce of this nature has been committed in London, yet the culprit ſurvives, is careſſed amongſt our great men, and cannot be puniſhed by our laws *. A public company could not have been guilty of ſuch a capital crime againſt the woollen manufactures of their country; the very propoſition from any of their members muſt have been received with horror, and rejected with indignation. But ſuppoſe it otherwiſe, and that a corrupt majority could be capable of accepting ſuch a propoſal, or any other equally injurious to the national welfare, and of carrying it by their votes, at a general aſſembly of the company; the minority (ſome of whom muſt be either members of parliament, or reſpectable merchants, having

* One of the moſt conſiderable merchants of London, who has ſince failed, and retired from buſineſs, was publicly charged, not many years ſince, with buying up French woollen cloths, and exporting them, as Britiſh made, to Turky; by which, it is ſaid, we have loſt moſt of our commerce in that article to the Levant.

weight

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weight and influence with government), would undoubtedly repreſent the traiterous meaſure in its proper light, and an act of the legiſlature, or even of the king and council, if the parliament were not ſitting, might inſtantly prevent its being carried into execution. No ſuch opportunity is given by private adventurers. Tranſactions of the moſt impolitic nature in commerce may paſs unnoticed for many years, if the private adventurers conduct their negotiations with ſecrecy and dexterity. In fact, I find, by examining the moſt ancient records of commerce, that public companies were founded in every commercial ſtate, amongſt other ſalutary reaſons, to preſerve peace between fellow-ſubjects, and to prevent clandeſtine frauds and violences committed by merchants and traders, in order to undermine each other, which menaced, in the end, the ruin of the commerce of the countries where they had happened.

But if it is expedient to eſtabliſh public trading companies, every ſubject in a free ſtate, it is ſaid, ſhould be admiſſable to be a member on paying a ſmall fine, and ſubmitting to its laws and regulations. To this I reply, that the fine, or conſideration for admiſſion, ought to vary, according to the nature of the company, the ſyſtem of its conſtitution, and the importance of its commercial tranſactions. A fine of twenty pounds may be more than ſufficient to entitle a perſon to become a member of a company, which does not carry on their trade by joint ſtock; where the members cannot lay claim to any ſhare of the profits made by the company, but only incorporate themſelves, in order to carry on their commerce to particular countries, under the protection of, and ſubject to certain laws and regulations agreed to by the company, and legalized by the ſtate, for the greater ſecurity and convenience of ſuch particular branch of foreign trade. Yet, certainly, no one will pretend, that a ſmall conſideration ought to entitle a man to become a member of a capital commercial company, trading on a joint ſtock, and where the profits, which may be very great, are to be divided amongſt all the members: beſides, the rights of debating and voting, derived from the freedom of the Britiſh conſtitution, make part of the immunities enjoyed by every member in our public companies;

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companies; and is it reaſonable or equitable, that any number of members, received into a company for ſmall conſiderations, ſhould be enabled, from ſelfiſh or partial motives, to influence others by eloquent ſpeeches, or by their own votes, to form a majority in favour of partial or pernicious meaſures, which may diminiſh the profits, leſſen the value of the capital, or otherwiſe injure the whole ſociety, and counteract the more ſalutary deſigns of other members, who have ſubſcribed large capitals to the common joint ſtock of the company, or have afterwards purchaſed large ſhares in it with great ſums of money? Should members admitted for a ſmall conſideration be thus impowered to undermine the plans of the directors, who are generally elected to that office, on account of their long experience, great ſkill, and capital intereſt in the general concerns of the company? Every ſenſible man will moſt aſſuredly put a negative on theſe queſtions.

I VERY readily own, that there ought not to be an expreſs excluſion of any ſubject of a free ſtate from its public companies; but, on the other hand, the pecuniary conſideration for admiſſion ought to be regulated by the conſtitution and circumſtances of the company; which may make one thouſand pounds as ſmall a fine to one company, in proportion to the advantages of becoming a member, as five ſhillings to another, from which little or none are to be expected. And I humbly apprehend, that what I have advanced on this ſubject is ſufficient to take off the limitation preſcribed by Sir Joſiah Child; and to ſhew that the fine for admitting ſubjects generally, to be members of ſome public companies, may exceed fifty times the ſum he propoſes, and not be too much.

THAT reſtrained limited companies are not alone ſufficient to preſerve and increaſe trade, and that ſuch companies may loſe a trade, though they are eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, cannot be denied; for, in the firſt place, a company may have a very flouriſhing commerce, but not being ſupported by a formidable maritime force from the ſtate, it may want ſecurity, and, from that cauſe decline; and ſecondly, its affairs may be miſmanaged, though the wiſeſt regulations were made by parliament at its inſtitution; but abuſes in the adminiſtration of the

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concerns of any body politic or corporate, are not to be brought as arguments againſt the eſtabliſhments themſelves: private adventurers may equally loſe a trade by miſconduct. Theſe two objections therefore ſeem to have but little weight.

But I totally deny the next propoſition, that trade can be carried on, and increaſed, without companies. The confined idea of limiting it to any part of Chriſtendom muſt be thrown out of the queſtion. We muſt conſider it at large, and then, I think, we ſhall make it appear, that no conſiderable commerce to any part of the globe can be carried on (to national advantage), or increaſed, without companies. It muſt likewiſe be allowed, that the firſt eſtabliſhment of ſuch a commerce, undertaken by the king, or by the government of a free ſtate, would be more alarming on the ſcore of public liberty, and liable to more objections, than the granting a charter for that purpoſe to a certain number of ſubjects.

Let us now ſuppoſe, that the foundation of a moſt beneficial and extenſive commerce, with the inhabitants of a powerful, warlike, ſavage people, poſſeſſing immenſe tracts of land, in ſome very remote region, and having the dominion of the ſeas in thoſe parts, is propoſed to be laid by the people of Great Britain; I know but of three plans that could be propoſed for carrying the deſign into execution. Either it muſt be undertaken by the ſovereign; or by an aſſociation of wealthy ſubjects, to whom certain privileges and immunities muſt be granted, in conſideration of the hazard they run, in advancing the whole, or a large part of their property in the adventure; or all the inhabitants muſt be invited to engage in it, and be ſtimulated to exert themſelves to the beſt of their reſpective abilities, by the allurements of gain, and a full aſſurance from government, that the trade ſhall be open and free to all adventurers, and ſubject to no reſtrictions but the general commercial laws of the kingdom; a general promiſe of protection would likewiſe iſſue of courſe from the crown.

To the firſt plan, the ſubjects of Britain would never ſubmit; they would conſider any capital branch of commerce in the hands of government as a grievance of the firſt magnitude, and a prelude to ſlavery.

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To the ſecond, none but men who are influenced by ſelfiſh motives, miſguided by weak judgments, or blinded by prejudices or paſſions, could ſtart any objection of ſuch force, as to make it more eligible either to lay aſide the deſign, or to take it up on the footing of the third plan.

LARGE capitals in merchandize proper for the undertaking, or in ſpecie to purchaſe them, muſt be the baſis of new commercial connections with foreign countries, if they are intended to be very conſiderable, beneficial, and extenſive.

MERCANTILE credit, to a latitude, the bounds of which can hardly be preſcribed, is as eſſentially neceſſary for the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterprize, even at its commencement, and much more ſo when it has gained a footing.

A NAVAL and military force, proportioned to the nature of the undertaking, will likewiſe be requiſite to act defenſively in ſupport of the adventurers, if not offenſively. And here, with reluctance, I am obliged to obſerve, that COMMERCE is but too often conſidered (even by civilized nations) "as a political neceſſity, which has no law;" for it pays no reſpect to the laws of nature or of nations, when its intereſts are to be eſtabliſhed or preſerved. If ſavage nations, who were ignorant of commerce, till they were viſited by the Europeans, cannot conceive it to be to their advantage to open a trade, to commence a free intercourſe with, and to permit a ſet of ſtrangers to ſettle amongſt them; or, if they are already engaged in traffic, and politically connected with other Europeans (the foes and rivals of theſe ſtrangers) ſhould they oppoſe the projected ſcheme, they will probably be taught to change their opinions by thoſe fatal preceptors, the ſword and the muſket.

BY an impartial inquiry into the means of eſtabliſhing an extenſive commerce with any diſtant country on theſe principles, we ſhall diſcover further motives for incorporating public companies, and ſhall make it needleſs to conſider the third plan propoſed, becauſe it will be found impracticable, regard being had to the ſituation and political circumſtances of Great Britain.

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THE exportation of our manufactures muſt be the firſt object of all conſiderable commercial eſtabliſhments, (and I mean to apply my arguments only to ſuch); the very idea, therefore, of a large capital, ſufficient to purchaſe the great quantities of manufactures to be exported, ſuppoſes an aſſociation of a number of opulent men for that purpoſe: but importation of valuable commodities, for the uſe of our manufactures, or for home-conſumption, might be a ſecondary object: and, leſt the firſt ſhould not ſucceed to the heighth of expectation, a capital in ſpecie muſt be provided, to inſure the ſucceſs of the ſecond, that the expedition might anſwer on the whole. Again, it might happen, that the number of perſons aſſociated to carry on the new eſtabliſhment could not furniſh a capital ſo large as ſhould be judged requiſite to anſwer theſe views; or, on the ſpot, they might find it advantageous to purchaſe a quantity of commodities for importation, exceeding the amount of their bartered ſtock and their fund in money: in either of theſe caſes, we muſt ſee the neceſſity of mercantile credit; and the conſideration both of the magnitude of the capital, and of the requiſite extent of mercantile credit, naturally ſuggeſts to us the obvious neceſſity of forming a commercial aſſociation, or company, to facilitate the deſign, and to ſecure the property of each individual adventurer.

CAN it be imagined, that any ſet of men would meet together, and agree to depoſit, ſome ten, and others twenty thouſand pounds, to open a new and extenſive commercial intercourſe with the inhabitants of Aſia, without fixing on certain rules of conduct, and certain means of ſecuring their property in each other's hands? or is it likely that they ſhould acquire that univerſal mercantile credit at home as individuals, which they might reaſonably expect when aſſociated and formed into one body, the whole being anſwerable for the debts of every individual contracted in the company's name?

COULD any other method be deviſed in ſuch a caſe, ſo ſecure, ſo permanent, or ſo creditable, in the eyes of their fellow-ſubjects, as to get their regulations, agreed upon amongſt themſelves, converted into laws; either by a charter, or by an act of parliament?

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Is it reaſonable, that any ſet of men, thus adventuring large fortunes, and perhaps their perſons, in an enterprize, which, while it promiſed gain to themſelves, ſhould likewiſe furniſh immediate employment to a number of mechanics, manufacturers, tradeſmen, and mariners, and, in the end, increaſe the wealth of the nation, ſhould not be intitled to ſome particular rights and privileges not accorded to all their fellow-ſubjects, particularly ſuch as might prevent others from reaping the fruit of their enterprize? or is it probable, that they would obtain univerſal credit, if their fellow-ſubjects did not conſider ſuch excluſive rights and privileges, as the beſt means of inſuring ſucceſs?

In whatever point of view I conſider the firſt ſettlement of a grand commercial enterprize, it ſeems impracticable, without the concurrence of a number of wealthy citizens aſſociated together, ſubmitting to binding obligations, which eſtabliſh confidence; making one common ſtock for the benefit of the company, and enjoying certain excluſive rights and privileges, as a ſecurity and a recompence for the hazard and diſburſements of the undertaking. I ſhall therefore make no ſcruple to maintain, that Sir Joſiah Child, and others, who have aſſerted, that commerce might be carried on to any part of the world without companies, meant to apply this maxim only to ſuch trades as were actually eſtabliſhed, without recurring to the origin of any commercial inſtitution. Indeed, from what immediately follows, it is plain, that Child drew his inferences from the ſituation of ſome branches of commerce, which, in his time, had declined under the adminiſtration of companies. "The eaſt country and Ruſſia trade had been almoſt "loſt, by the miſmanagement of their reſpective companies;" but this is no argument to prove that they are not neceſſary to eſtabliſh new commercial foundations. Nor do any of the complainants againſt excluſive companies propoſe any method to open and ſettle freſh commercial intercourſes with foreign nations, independent of companies. The argument reſpecting the Dutch, ſtands exactly upon the ſame footing; for though their inland trade, and ſome branches of their general commerce, are thrown open to all the inhabitants of the United Provinces, yet it is well known, that their principal mercantile

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eſtabliſhments in foreign countries owe their origin (like the Britiſh) to companies. Indeed nothing is ſo vague as the idea of a new ſettlement of any kind, without an aſſociation, a charter, or an act of parliament, granting and ſecuring certain rights and privileges to the ſettlers. Commercial views gave riſe to the eſtabliſhment of our colonies, and they had charters from the beginning, which were granted to companies; ſuch were the North Virginia, London, and Plymouth New England companies, &c. all which I only mention to prove, that ſuch were always the jarring intereſts and the ſtrong prejudices of mankind, that no great undertaking could ever be ſet on foot, without uniting a certain number in a body, and binding them down to certain regulations; and as to commercial enterprizes, it is as apparent, that men could never be engaged to riſk their lives and fortunes, without a ſecurity that they ſhould reap the fruits of their adventures; and this ſecurity conſiſts in granting them excluſive rights and privileges.

But ſuch excluſive rights are ſeldom granted in perpetuity by the Britiſh crown or government; they are generally for a long term of years; thoſe who are againſt all chartered companies availing themſelves of the reſerved power in the crown to reſume them, inſiſt on the expediency, equity, and ſound policy of cancelling them, and of laying the branches of commerce, monopolized in virtue of ſuch charters, open to all the ſubjects of the realm, after the expiration of the term of years for which they were granted. It is ſaid, that the commeree ſet on foot by means of ſuch encouragements being firmly eſtabliſhed, and the firſt adventurers having received the moſt ample indemnification and recompence for the capitals they employed, and the hazard of the enterprize; the public, for whoſe benefit they were ultimately intended, ſhould be at full liberty to embark on the ſame bottom, and to ſhare the future profits of the plan. For my own part, though a warm advocate for the civil and religious freedom of all my countrymen, I cannot think this claim well founded; for it is juſt the ſame, as if we were to pretend to the right of purchaſing an improved eſtate, conſiſting of the beſt cultivated lands, on the ſame terms as if it conſiſted only

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of a barren, uncultivated deſart. I can ſee no reaſon why a chartered company, which has raiſed, improved, and perhaps carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, a moſt valuable branch of commerce, equally beneficial to a number of individuals and to the ſtate, ſhould not continue to enjoy its ancient privileges, as the means of continuing the flouriſhing ſituation of their commerce, and of enriching their country. But if they have ſuffered the branch of commerce they undertook to decline, and either through the ignorance, indolence, or avarice of its managers, the company is on the point of loſing it, it is then the duty of government to interpoſe, to take away privileges which they do not merit, and to invite all its ſubjects to trade to that part of the world on a free, unlimited footing.

This experiment has been tried; but, as a further proof of the utility of chartered companies, let it be remembered, that it has never anſwered. No branch of commerce (at leaſt to my knowledge) that was in a declining ſtate in the hands of a company, has been revived and improved by private adventurers. On the contrary, the very reverſe has happened in England; which is a full refutation of Sir Joſiah Child's fourth inference.

Our Eaſt India, and Bank companies *, have brought the commerce and mercantile credit of Great Britain to ſuch a degree of perfection, as no age or country can equal; and to ſuppoſe that this national ſucceſs could have been accompliſhed by private merchants, or even by companies not trading on a joint ſtock, is an abſurdity that does not deſerve ſerious conſideration.

For what purpoſe then ſhould ſo great a revolution take place, as the diſſolution of theſe companies? For none ſurely, but to gratify the private views of ſelfiſh individuals, who would never deſire any branch

* It may ſurprize many perſons to find the Bank deſcribed as a chartered commercial company; but if we reflect a moment, on the ſupport given to commerce, by their diſcounting bills of exchange, purchaſing bullion and foreign coin; and iſſuing current notes, which facilitate the tranſport of perſonal property, and promote the general circulation of wealth in the nation; we muſt admit that it has all the properties of an excluſive trading company, though its commodities are chiefly money.

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of commerce to be laid open to them, if they ſaw it in a declining ſtate in the hands of a company; yet it is in ſuch caſes only that it ought to be laid open; and, were men influenced as they pretend, by the public good, it would be under ſuch circumſtances that they would petition for a free trade.

Is it probable that any private adventurers ſhould ever have it in their power, or ſhould ſo accord in opinion, having the ability, as to lend the capital ſums of money to the nation, from time to time, at low intereſt, which have been advanced by our India, South-ſea, and Bank companies, whereby the extraordinary exigencies of the ſtate in time of war have been ſupplied, without levying ſudden and heavy contributions on the people? But this ſubject more properly belongs to the Elements of Finances; I therefore only introduce it in this place, as another great national benefit derived from our preſent great chartered companies, ſo idly and vulgarly ſtiled monopolies.

But two more charges are brought againſt the Eaſt India company. "They do not increaſe the quantity of woollens they export, but "rather confine themſelves to the quantity ſtipulated by their charter." In reply to this, let it be obſerved, that we have other branches of commerce, in which our exports in woollen manufactures are greatly augmented; and, if it was not practicable to increaſe them to India, we have no reaſon to complain of the India company; ſince they have made ample amends, by opening new ſources of commerce; by furniſhing us with articles for re-exportation to other countries, chiefly in our own bottoms, whereby our navigation is increaſed, as well as a commercial intercourſe with nations which formerly took no India products from England. The balance of our India commerce is, by theſe means, conſiderably in our favour, though our imports exceed our exports to that country. It is pretended likewiſe, "that they "avoid making diſcoveries, or extending their trade to the northward "of Churchill." My anſwer is, why ſhould they employ their ſhips and ſeamen in attempts equally dangerous and uncertain, while they have full employment for them, which is alike beneficial to the company and to the nation? In ſhort, every objection to ſuch companies,

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companies, tried by the true principles of commerce, falls to the ground. As to complaints of miſconduct in the adminiſtration of the company's concerns, theſe ought to be adjuſted amongſt themſelves, if they do not affect the general intereſt which the nation has in the proſperity of the company; when they do, we find government interpoſes.

THE popular argument againſt all monopolies is of a political nature, and is the laſt we have to encounter. It muſt be conſidered at large, becauſe it equally affects all limitations and reſtrictions in the operations of domeſtic trade; for, if chartered companies, enjoying excluſive privileges, are monopolies, ſo likewiſe are all corporations, and every obſtruction which prevents any ſubject from exerciſing fully his trade or art, in any part of the dominions of Great Britain. "City and "corporation charters," ſays the author of the Eſſay on the Cauſes of the Decline of our foreign Trade, "are injurious monopolies. Where "freemen exclude by charter any of the ſame trade from ſettling in "their towns, have they not a monopoly againſt the reſt of the "inhabitants? Cannot they impoſe extravagant prices for their goods "on their cuſtomers; and do they not do it? If a journeyman, not "being a freeman, gets into work in a city or town-corporate, what "an outcry is there not made of a foreigner being come in among "them, to eat the bread out of their mouths? How! can a free-born "Briton be reckoned a foreigner in any part of his own country? "What an abſurdity is here! yet nevertheleſs it is true in effect."

WE ſee plainly, by this author's reaſoning, that the ſame pretence is ſet up for diſſolving all corporations, and all private livery companies, as for annulling the charters of our public commercial companies. Individuals, born long after theſe have been eſtabliſhed and brought to perfection, want to enjoy all the advantages of the inſtitutions, without having run any hazard, or put themſelves to any extraordinary expences, to entitle them to their profits. And, with the ſame juſtice, every workman, or tradeſman, who thinks proper to ſupplant a denizen in any corporate town, is to enjoy the ſame privileges as the denizen himſelf, who has paid a valuable conſideration, and ſubmitted to ſeven

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years ſervitude to acquire them. The corporation likewiſe, as a body, may have impoſed fines on their members for public buildings, for navigable canals, for quays, and a variety of other conveniencies to carry on their trade; yet an extravagant, idle fellow, who could not ſucceed in any particular town, or perhaps has fled from it for debt, is to come and ſettle amongſt the denizens of another corporate town, and enjoy all the rights, immunities, and conveniencies, which they and their anceſtors have purchaſed or acquired by painful ſervitude; and on the ſole plea, that they are free-born Britons. But let us ſuppoſe that theſe advocates for the general freedom of trade could carry their point, muſt it not be obvious to the meaneſt capacity, that arts, manufactures, and trade would be thrown into the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder? Whenever higher wages, a larger demand for goods, or more beneficial employment offered, workmen and tradeſmen would leave the places of their nativity, and a general circulating migration would take place; ſo that no maſter could be ſure of his ſervant in any manufactory or ſhop for ſix months together, nor any landlord of his tenant, if a trader. Beſides, it is not conſidered, that the honours of magiſtracy veſted in corporations is a ſpur to emulative induſtry, and theſe are founded on conſtant long reſidence on one ſpot. In ſhort, the train of evils, which would ariſe from adopting the falſe maxim of permitting every individual to employ his induſtry and abilities in the manner he judges moſt conducive to his welfare, and to purſue the benefits of trade wherever he can find them, are innumerable; and the only rational anſwer we can give to ſuch idle claims is, that they are inconſiſtent with the public good, and cannot be admitted in civilized ſtates.

PRETENSIONS of this nature mean to give the ſame latitude with reſpect to commerce, as natural liberty aſſumes, when oppoſed to civil liberty, politically conſidered.

BUT let it be remembered, that, as the man who ſubmits to the laws of civil ſociety, ſacrifices, for the public good, part of his natural liberty; ſo, in commerce, it is apparent, that the natural freedom of trade, claimed by individuals, muſt give way to the ſecurity, convenience,

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nience, and advantage of the great mercantile ſociety of which he is a member.

On the principle of a free, open, unlimited exerciſe of trade, domeſtic and foreign, all public companies, enjoying excluſive privileges, and all incorporated towns and cities, as well as every reſtrictive ſubordination in trade, muſt fall to the ground; but I imagine the experience of ages, the preſent flouriſhing ſituation of our inland trade, and univerſal commerce, under theſe ſeveral limitations, and the arguments I have advanced in their favour, will be ſufficient to convince the unprejudiced, that public commercial companies and corporations are beneficial, equitable, honourable, and compatible with the freedom of the Britiſh conſtitution.

But who would believe, that we have authors of repute, who have conteſted another principle of commerce? "the eſtabliſhment of colonies:" yet ſuch there are, and therefore it is my duty to obviate all objections on that head.

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ON COLONIES.

I HAVE ſhewn in a former part of this treatiſe, that planting colonies is a true principle of commerce; that it was carried into execution by the ancient commercial ſtates, and was adopted with ſucceſs by England in the reign of queen Elizabeth. I mentioned, that the encouragement given by that wiſe princeſs to colonization, was the baſis of the preſent power, extenſive commerce, and unrivaled navigation of Great Britain.

BUT, in this place, I mean to ſhew that they are an inexhauſtible fund of riches and ſtrength to the Britiſh iſles, and that (from a little kingdom, of renown only for valour and freedom in former times), they have enlarged and conſolidated them into a mighty empire.

"THE domination of Britain is, at this period, extended over "countries ſo very conſiderable and important, that it properly merits "the name of empire; for, excluſive of her own domeſtic dominions, "and of her many detached poſſeſſions in the different quarters of the "globe, her territory on the continent of America is itſelf equal to a "powerful ſtate *."

THE French writers unanimouſly agree, that our naval and commercial ſuperiority is principally derived from our colonies. The author of the Compariſon between the two kingdoms acknowledges, that, in this reſpect, the two nations are unequal; for the Engliſh

* See The Importance of the Britiſh Dominions in India, compared with that in America. London, printed for J. Almon, 1770.

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ſettlements, he ſays, are of greater importance than thoſe of France, and form indeed the chief pillar of England's greatneſs.

YET notwithſtanding theſe, and numerous other concurrent teſtimonies, in ſupport of our principle, and the ſucceſsful application of it by the Britiſh legiſlature; early and warm oppoſitions to it were ſet on foot ſoon after our firſt ſettlements were made in America; and, notwithſtanding we have, with our uſual national ſpirit and induſtry, improved in our practice upon this ancient principle of commerce, it is found fault with to this very hour from the preſs, and in the ſenate. Indeed the conteſt was carried ſo far, that, in 1766, adminiſtration itſelf caught the infection, and adopted a ſcheme of unnatural oppreſſion, which, had it been enforced in the manner it was purpoſed, muſt have diminiſhed the commerce, and conſequently the ſtrength and power of Great Britain; for theſe colonies, inſtead of producing almoſt every thing we want for our manufactures, would have turned their attention to manufacturing for themſelves, and, from a variety of circumſtances in their favour, would have been enabled not only to prejudice the ſale of thoſe of their mother-country, but, in the end, to have rivalled us in them at foreign markets.

THE principal argument of any weight againſt colonization is ſtated by Child, and after him by Cary. "Gentlemen of no mean "capacities, amongſt whom were Sir William Petty, were of opinion, "in king William's reign, that the New England ſettlers ſhould be "invited to return home; becauſe home population was conſidered as "the true national object, and the depopulation of the kingdom by "emigrations to America was reckoned very prejudicial." Cary takes notice, "That it has been a great queſtion among many thoughtful "men, whether the ſettling our plantations abroad has been an "advantage to the nation? The reaſons they give againſt them are, "that they have drained us of multitudes of our people, who might "have been ſerviceable at home, and advanced improvement in "huſbandry and manufactures; that this kingdom is worſe peopled, "by ſo much as they are increaſed; and that inhabitants being the "wealth of a nation, by how much they are leſſened, by ſo much we are

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" are the poorer than when we firſt began to ſettle thoſe colonies." To theſe complainants of former times, we may add ſome writers in the preſent, who declare, that, with regard to North America, we have been colonizing mad, the quick peopling of that continent having been made too much our object; and, in the late unhappy diviſions between ſome of theſe colonies and the mother-country, many gentlemen in parliament went ſo far as to wiſh them at the bottom of the ſea, or in the hands of any other power, France excepted.

It was ſaid, that the expence of maintaining the American ſettlements in time of peace, and defending them from our enemies in time of war, are ſo great, that all the commercial benefits we derive from them are hardly ſufficient to indemnify us; and even thoſe benefits, we are told, become every day more and more precarious, becauſe theſe colonies begin to feel their own ſtrength, and to diſcover an inclination for independency. Time and nature, it is thought by ſome, will too ſoon render them ſuperior to our controul; and, in ſupport of this alarming notion of their aſſuming an independent ſtate, that celebrated political writer Mr. Trenchard is quoted, who, it ſeems, made a jeſt of the ſuppoſition, that they would continue longer dependent on us than neceſſity compelled them to be, for no other reaſon than becauſe their grandmothers and ours had been formerly acquainted. Others maintain, that though they are divided by rival intereſts, and diſcordant religious principles, they will always unite when the mother-country furniſhes them a fair opportunity to complain of oppreſſion; and, in ſhort, that every thing is to be dreaded from their increaſed population, and ſkill in agriculture, arts, and manufactures.

That I may not omit any of the apprehenſions of mercantile people, who have taken pains with the ſubject, I muſt cloſe this ſummary of the objections to our American ſettlements with thoſe which the author of the Compariſon between the Importance of the Britiſh Dominions in India and in America has advanced, in order to prejudice the mother-country in favour of her India commerce, and late acquiſitions there, and to excite her to ſet much leſs value than ſhe has hitherto done on her dominions in America. I am the more diſpoſed to be thus

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thus impartial, becauſe I think it would have been unfair not to have mentioned the arguments of this unknown writer, whom I conſider as a very dangerous enemy to our American brethren.

" THE natural neceſſity and utility of commerce ariſes from the " difference of production in the two trading countries. And, from " this cauſe, the productions of India, whether of nature or art, " being altogether different from thoſe of Britain, it proceeds, that " the articles of commerce which India receives at preſent from Britain " can never ceaſe to be neceſſary to India: and, through the ſame " cauſe, thoſe articles which Britain receives from India will ever " continue to be uſeful and neceſſary to Britain; of conſequence, the " commercial intereſts of this dependent dominion can never poſſibly " claſh with thoſe of the ſovereign; on the contrary, they muſt ever " contribute highly to her benefit.

" WHEREAS America differeth but little from Britain in either climate " or ſoil, her natural productions are therefore nearly the ſame; ſo that " ſhe poſſeſſeth the rough materials of almoſt all the manufactures of " Britain; and her intimate connection with the mother-country " affords her the opportunity of minutely acquainting herſelf with the " art of manufacturing thoſe materials. From whence it is evident, " that almoſt all the articles of commerce which America hath " hitherto received from Britain are no farther neceſſary to her, than " as they are rendered ſo, by either the want of hands to carry on " thoſe manufactures, or by the laws of the ſovereign reſtraining her " from the free exerciſe of certain arts. But the population of America " proceeds with a rapid ſpeed, and that will of courſe remove the firſt " impediment to her ſupplying herſelf, even the want of hands to " manufacture. This population will at the ſame time increaſe the " importance of America; and in proportion as this importance " advances, ſo will the free exerciſe of every art extend, through the " diminution of the ſovereign's reſtraining power. Here is then " ſufficient ground to apprehend, that the ſeveral articles of commerce " which America receives at preſent from Britain, will not only ſoon " ceaſe to be neceſſary to America; but that ſhe will alſo have it in " her

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" her power, and we cannot doubt her inclination, to rival the " trade of her mother-country with other nations, in thoſe identical " articles."

I HAVE before obſerved, that the earlieſt and the ſtrongeſt objection to our American ſettlements is, the draining the mother-country of her people; and as their increaſing population is made the baſis of the apprehenſions that they will rival us in manufactures, and become independent, it is my chief duty and concern to ſet aſide this groundleſs objection.

IN the firſt place, it is a maxim, " That the wealth of a nation " conſiſts in the number of its inhabitants." But if thoſe inhabitants are not properly claſſed, and if the populouſneſs of a nation is not found in the claſſes of induſtrious, uſeful, labouring hands *, no wealth can accrue to the ſtate merely from numbers. Secondly, it will be found, that the people who have been occaſionally ſent to ſome of our colonies, and others, who have from time to time made voluntary emigrations to them, were not of thoſe claſſes of inhabitants, whoſe numbers, by their uſeful employment, form the wealth of the kingdom of Great Britain. And it will farther appear, that if we had not poſſeſſed foreign plantations for theſe emigrants to reſide in, ſome of them could not, and others would not have remained at home! ſo that we ſhould have loſt ſo many ſubjects without reſource, by their flying to the dominions of foreign princes. To illuſtrate the truth of theſe aſſertions, I muſt remind you of one of the true principles of commerce; " Toleration " in matters of religious opinion, generally ſtiled religious liberty." The intolerant ſpirit of bigotted churchmen, which corrupted adminiſtration, and deſtroyed one part of the freedom of the Britiſh conſtitution, it is well known, drove away great numbers of the ſubjects of England, in the reigns of James I. Charles I. and James II. and happy it was for this nation, that the diſtreſſed wanderers ſtill entertained a natural affection for their native country, and were deſirous rather of cultivating barren deſarts, under the dominion of the crown

* See pages 57 and 58 on Manufactures.

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of Great Britain, provided they could enjoy the civil and religious rights of the Britiſh conſtitution, than to reſort to the moſt fertile territories of other powers. They cultivated the wilds of America, and ſettled the colony of New England, where they ſoon verified, by their induſtry, that moſt excellent obſervation of Monteſquieu, "that "countries are not cultivated in proportion to their fertility, but their "liberty;" and for whom have theſe beſt of men, theſe firmeſt patriots, been continually labouring ever ſince? Not ſo much for themſelves, as for their mother-country; that they and their poſterity, though thrown at ſo great a diſtance from Britain, might again become uſeful and loyal ſubjects. Not diſcouraged by the ſeverity of the climate, by the ſurface overgrown with briars and thorns, by the early oppoſition of the natives, a race of people fierce and falſe, untractable, treacherous, irreconcileable, bloody, and mercileſs, they cultivated an ungrateful ſoil, to enable them to open an intercourſe with their native country, and to receive her manufactures. Often maſſacred, and ſometimes driven away by the fury of the inhuman ſavages, who were guilty of the moſt horrible cruelties, who would rarely make peace, and more rarely keep their agreements when made: often ſtarved out and famiſhed, and ſometimes a whole body of planters waſted and periſhed with cold and want, reduced to extremities, obliged to abandon the country: theſe virtuous, indefatigable men ſtill perſiſted, till, by inceſſant toil, they planted, inhabited, and cultivated thoſe inhoſpitable climates, thoſe ſuppoſed barren countries! thoſe trifling little ſpots of iſlands! not worth looking at by the Spaniards; and at length, that vaſt ſhare of the North American continent now enjoyed by the Britiſh nation, which contains almoſt the whole ſea-coaſt, and abounds with a number of navigable rivers and ſecure harbours. Emigrants of another ſpecies ſettled Virginia and Barbadoes, and others Jamaica; all which colonies have been brought to be the richeſt and moſt improved of any in that part of the world, and now anſwer the moſt beneficial purpoſes of univerſal commerce to their mother-country; even to ſuch a degree, that it is poſitively affirmed, that they bring in more wealth to Old England than all the mines of gold and ſilver in New Spain, afford to

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the Spaniſh nation. We believe it will not be doubted, that a people ſo diſturbed in their religious liberty, as were the diſſenters from the church of England by law eſtabliſhed, could no longer continue to be uſeful inhabitants at home; diſcontented with the eccleſiaſtical part of our conſtitution, expoſed to arbitrary fines and cenſures, their lives and properties held by a precarious tenure, and the latter always at the mercy of a biſhop's court; they could no longer exert thoſe talents which render inland trade and univerſal commerce ſucceſsful; and, in theſe unhappy circumſtances, they were more buſily employed about the means of ſeeking new habitations, where they might enjoy liberty of conſcience, than in purſuing uſeful arts of invention and induſtry; and if they had not found out a New England; Germany and Holland, muſt have received the major part, as they did ſome of them, and all of them would probably have been loſt for ever to England. We ſee an example of this, at the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Had Lewis the XIV. offered his proteſtant ſubjects the full enjoyment of their religious rights in any of the French colonies, they would not have fled to Amſterdam, to Germany, and to London. And it is a further confirmation, that ſuch ſort of emigrants (from their minds being diſturbed) are no longer uſeful ſubjects at home, to know, that the French court complained, that theſe Huguenots no longer attended to their buſineſs, but ſpent all their time in religious aſſemblies, and in plots againſt the government, (legal means to recover their natural liberty).

Let us now turn our thoughts to the ſubjects who peopled Virginia and Barbadoes. Theſe at firſt were a looſe vagrant people, vicious, and deſtitute of means to live at home, who had ſo debilitated themſelves by debauchery, or loſt their reputation by miſbehaviour, that no one would employ them. Such as theſe, the merchants by their agents, and the maſters of veſſels, by their emiſſaries, (called at that time Spirits), picked up in the ſtreets of London, Briſtol, and other ſea-ports, and cloathed and tranſported them, to be employed in theſe plantations; and ſince, it has been the impolitic cuſtom to tranſport felons to theſe iſlands, and to Jamaica. Swarms of inhabitants of this

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ſort could never enrich a free country, where they cannot be made ſlaves, even though they have juſtly forfeited their liberties by theft, nor could moſt of them have remained with us. As to the emigrations of unfortunate men flying for debt, it is certainly much better that they ſhould have Britiſh colonies to inhabit, than that they ſhould carry away their arts and induſtry, and perhaps a private purſe, to Dunkirk, or any other French or Dutch aſylum.

But another great cauſe of emigration from Great Britain to the laſt-mentioned ſettlements, was, the revolutions in the circumſtances and ſituations of people of property during the civil wars, and at the reſtoration. Individuals of both parties, when they loſt their honours or eſtates, or were in danger of perſecution, repaired to theſe plantations, which very ſoon peopled and improved them; for many families carried over conſiderable effects.

It has now, I believe, been demonſtrated to your ſatisfaction, that the colonies did not formerly drain us of ſuch inhabitants as enrich a country; but it will be ſaid, what have they done of late years, and what are they now doing? Moſt undoubtedly they are annually depriving you of uſeful inhabitants. But this is not their fault; it is the conſequence of the various diſcouragements I have ſtated at large under the head of Population; and again I repeat it, they had much better reſort to our colonies, and there in ſome meaſure ſtill remain in a degree uſeful to us, by conſuming our manufactures ſent to the colonies, and by raiſing the materials for them to be ſent home, than fly to France or Germany. However, it will be found upon the whole, that the numbers of uſeful hands who go to America, are not ſo conſiderable as it is generally imagined, and they would be greatly leſſened, if the proper means were taken to lower proviſions, and to give greater encouragement to them at home.

Dr. franklin, in his obſervations concerning the increaſe of mankind, acknowledges the rapidity with which our American colonies have been peopled, and ſays, that, in a little time, they will take off every thing we make that ſuits their conſumption. But he adds, that notwithſtanding this increaſe, ſo vaſt is the territory of North America,

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it will require many ages to ſettle it fully; and till it is fully ſettled, labour will never be cheap there, where no man continues long a labourer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues long a journeyman to a trade, but goes among the new ſettlers, and ſets up for himſelf. It follows from this ſituation of our colonies in that quarter, that labour cannot be cheap enough for ſome centuries, if ever, to eſtabliſh manufactures there.

OUR apprehenſions therefore, that they will become manufactures to ſuch a degree as to diminiſh conſiderably their conſumption of the manufactures of the mother-country, and in the end be enabled to do without them, are groundleſs, and this objection to our colonies partly anſwered. Yet it muſt be owned, that extreme oppreſſion may drive whole ſocieties, as well as individuals, to acts of deſperation; but it is the intereſt, and we know it is the inclination of our moſt gracious ſovereign, to prevent them in future, if any unthinking or tyrannic miniſter ſhall hereafter propoſe meaſures which have a tendency to force them to forſake their true intereſt, which is the clearing and cultivating the vaſt quantities of land lying waſte in their different ſoils and climates, ſo as to make them produce every rough material for our manufactures, every naval ſtore, and, in fine, every other commodity we find ourſelves neceſſitated to purchaſe on exorbitant terms from foreign countries. If all or moſt of theſe can be produced in our ſettlements, and paid for with our manufactures, it muſt ſurely be the heighth of folly, or of blind prejudice and partiality, not to give the coloniſts all poſſible encouragement to convert their uncultivated lands to mines of commercial treaſure.

OUR unnatural jealouſies and idle fears concerning our American brethren, are now happily ſubſided, and we ſeem in ſome meaſure to feel the force of SULLY's maxim: "The beſt means of making the "dependencies of the empire uſeful, are to make them happy; and "the beſt way to tax them is to confer benefits upon them." This muſt be the rule of adminiſtration at home, with reſpect to our colonies in America, the beſt dependencies of the Britiſh empire. So far as we have adopted it, we have reaped the fruits of the favours we have conferred;

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conferred*; and we want only an upright, diſpaſſionate, able ſtateſman, at the head of the adminiſtration of the colonies, to enable us to complete the glorious union of commercial intereſts between them and the mother country, and to cement the bands of natural affection and ſound policy, which alone can preſerve the preſent formidable power and opulence of Great Britain.

THE more we conſider the value of the imports we do and may make hereafter from our American colonies, of neceſſary articles for home-conſumption and re-exportation, ſome of which articles we formerly imported, and others we muſt continue to import from foreign countries, till our colonies can ſupply them, the more clearly we muſt be convinced, that all the arguments of the author of the Compariſon between our dominions in India and America are futile with reſpect to the latter. It is granted that the climate and ſoil is nearly the ſame in ſome parts of her American ſettlements; but in others this is not the caſe; and the articles ſhe is capable of producing for the ſervice of the mother-country do differ very widely from the product of the ſoil of Britain; but admitting they are generally ſimilar, it is well known that the ſmall extent of the Britiſh iſles could never produce a ſufficient quantity of raw ſilk, hemp, flax, iron, naval ſtores, &c. for her conſumption. If therefore the colonies can ſupply a deficiency which uſed to be made good by foreign countries, by which our manufactures (particularly the linen) were often at their mercy, he muſt be void of all commercial knowledge, who will not allow that the commerce with

* We have already experienced the good effects of ſuch encouragements, in the importation of pitch and tar, which Sweden had once monopolized, and rendered extremely dear to us; nay, when a war broke out with France, it was found that we had not pitch and tar enough for the uſe of the royal navy, nor could we procure it from Sweden, but upon their own very diſadvantageous terms. The people of England took the alarm at this, and the merchants made application to parliament, that the making theſe commodities in our own plantations might be encouraged; and the encouragement given by parliament ſoon produced great quantities from thence. Indeed, they ſo much increaſed in the making of pitch and tar, that we were ſoon enabled to export great quantities, which fully reimburſed us for the bounty. This would be the caſe with all our imports from Ruſſia, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, as likewiſe for raw ſilk, an article of infinite conſequence to this kingdom, and very capable of being cultivated in many parts of America.

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theſe colonies, founded on dominion, muſt be preferable to that of India, and more likely to be permanent. For if the coloniſts are profitably employed in raiſing and exporting to Great Britain, commodities that we cannot raiſe, nor procure on ſuch beneficial terms elſewhere, it follows naturally, that they will not attempt to diſuſe our manufactures, and that the intercourſe founded on the true commercial principal of gain on both ſides muſt be durable.

THAT they poſſeſs the rough materials of our manufactures is very true, and that they have frequent opportunities of learning our arts; but we may always act ſo prudently and politically as to prevent their inclination to make uſe of the knowledge they acquire, by employing them more to their advantage. Government at home may likewiſe interpoſe, and ſtop the exportation of tools, and the emigration of its uſeful hands, if it is found that we loſe any great number of the latter; but it cannot go any further; nor does there appear to be any occaſion at preſent to make new laws for that purpoſe; enforcing thoſe already ſubſiſting will be ſufficient, if the evil gets to any heighth.

THE ſuppoſed diſpoſition and growing ability of the colonies to ſhake off their dependency is the only remaining apprehenſion we have to remove; and, on this ſubject, I know nothing I can offer ſo ſatisfactory as the following remarks.

THE ſtrength of all the colonies united is weakneſs when oppoſed to Great Britain; yet even Great Britain ſhould tremble, if they were united againſt her in a juſt cauſe.

IT can never be the intereſt of Great Britain to adminiſter ſuch a cauſe; and we have the beſt reaſons to hope that the experience we have gained by the late unhappy differences will prevent or defeat in time every miniſterial project having ſuch a tendency.

THE ſuperior power, and legiſlative pre-eminence of England, without violating a law of juſtice, or reducing America to ſlavery, can for ever enforce her dependence. The ſuperior power of the mother-country conſiſts in a formidable navy, with which, having a good cauſe, and the conſtitution of the whole empire on her ſide, ſhe may always enforce obedience from our American dependencies. But God

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forbid we ſhould ever be reduced to the neceſſity of turning its ſtrength againſt one part of our own family!

But if Great Britain does not deprive her American ſubjects of the rights and privileges which they are entitled to by her excellent conſtitution, which is not local but univerſal, and embraces every new-born infant through her extenſive empire; it is not poſſible, in the nature of things, that they can have the leaſt idea of becoming independent. I ſhall therefore only add, that we have ſtill another ſecurity, not noticed by any authors I have read, though ſome have mentioned the difference of their religious ſyſtems of faith.

If we were to ſuppoſe them capable of forming either a monarchical or republican government within themſelves, is it to be credited that any of the ſects would ſubmit to let a different perſuaſion be the dominant religion of the country. A general toleration on the moſt extenſive footing would be readily granted to all; but in every government there muſt be one eſtabliſhed communion, which will have more or leſs, but always ſome degree of ſuperiority over the others. Would the quakers conſent to let the preſbyterian ſyſtem be the eſtabliſhed church, or the preſbyterians cede this right to the quakers? I humbly apprehend neither would yield up ſuch an important point; becauſe the internal adminiſtration of the civil government would always incline, in ſome meaſure, towards the predominant religious ſyſtem. This obſtacle to the independency of the colonies is drawn from general obſervations on the moſt free governments in Europe. In Holland, toleration is conducted on ſuch an equitable plan, that no diſſenting ſect of chriſtianity can complain of want of protection and indulgence; but ſtill the Calviniſts alone have the right, *de ſonner la cloche* (to ring the bell), which is the mark of ſuperiority in moſt countries, and proclaims the eſtabliſhed religion. It is likewiſe very viſible, that the manners of the people indicate the ſyſtem of religion authorized by the ſtate; and it may be ſaid, with great truth, that, in Holland, every burgher you meet is a portrait of John Calvin.

It cannot therefore be credited, that different ſocieties of people, whoſe

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whoſe anceſtors exiled themſelves from their mother-country, not only that they might enjoy their ſeveral modes of religious worſhip, and their particular opinions, unmoleſted by perſecution or cenſure, but alſo that they might make their reſpective ſyſtems the reigning religion in the plantations they formed, ſhould ſo far degenerate from the ſpirit of their forefathers, as to ſuffer any one of theſe ſyſtems to bend to another, or ſubmit to bare toleration, inſtead of abſolute dominion. With the moſt ſublime notions of civil and religious liberty imaginable, the quakers in Philadelphia, and the preſbyterians in New England, enjoy, in their ſeparate provinces, a religious pre-eminence, and ſpiritual juriſdiction, which I am apt to think they could never be brought to give up to each other.

In ſhort, whether we conſider the religious or civil eſtabliſhments of the colonies, we muſt be ſenſible, that they cannot think of bettering their condition by any ſcheme of independency whatever; ſo that notwithſtanding any pretenſions to the contrary, we may reſt aſſured, that the dominion and commerce of Great Britain, while both continue to be exerciſed on the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, will be ſecure, ſteady, leſs precarious, and, in the end, more profitable than our Indian connections.

Nothing more need be added to illuſtrate the commercial principle of colonization. I apprehend I have plainly ſhewn that it is incontrovertible, and that the Britiſh colonies are eſtabliſhed on ſuch a footing, that they are the chief ſource of her univerſal commerce, extenſive navigation, and national ſtrength.

But leſt it ſhould be apprehended, that I mean to depreciate the other commercial connections of Great Britain, I ſhall beg leave to engage your attention in the next place to the important ſubject of factories.

It is a true principle of univerſal commerce to eſtabliſh FACTORIES in foreign countries, with which a maritime commercial ſtate has large trading concerns.

These eſtabliſhments have generally proved very beneficial to commerce, but they muſt never be put on a footing with colonies.

COLONIES

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COLONIES are to be conſidered as large provinces or diſtricts of an extenſive empire; they are members of the ſame body; they are dependencies on one ſupreme government; and they ought to have but one joint intereſt in common with the great political head from which they derive their exiſtence.

FACTORIES are eſtabliſhments of a different nature. They are neither founded on dominion, or ſuch legal right as will not admit of diſpute. They depend ſometimes on treaties of commerce, and ſometimes on the arbitrary will of the ſovereign, who permits them in his dominions. Factories therefore muſt depend on a ſecondary principle for ſucceſs. This is not the caſe with reſpect to colonies.

TREATIES OF COMMERCE have already been noticed, as forming one part of our commercial inſtitutes; and, if they had been as religiouſly obſerved ſince, as they were in the time of Elizabeth, when they were firſt ſet on foot, with national dignity and honour, in this country; we might venture to approximate the ideas of colonies and factories.

BUT while the faith of princes depends only on their want of power to violate theſe treaties, and that as ſoon as they are able, they plead the vile principle of political neceſſity, as an excuſe for ſetting them aſide; all the immediate advantages derived from any factories, however great or opulent, (though they may overbalance the profits of colonies for any ſhort period of time) will not entitle them to be conſidered in an equal point of view.

IT muſt be granted, that the benefits derived from factories in countries where we have no commercial treaties, to ſecure the lives and property of our factors, or to entitle them to certain privileges and immunities neceſſary for their welfare; muſt be highly precarious, and not to be depended on for any number of years. And as I ſhall hereafter ſhew you how little reliance is to be made on modern treaties, I ſhall beg leave for the preſent to confine myſelf to thoſe conſiderable factories we have eſtabliſhed in Aſia, which the author of the Compariſon ſo often mentioned, has preferred to our American colonies, in point of national, commercial benefit.

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If this pamphlet had not been written intentionally to bias the three eſtates of the realm in favour of our Indian commerce, to the detriment of our American colonies, and even to alienate the affections of the inhabitants of Great Britain from their induſtrious, virtuous brethren in America, it might have paſſed unnoticed. But I have another motive for ſcrutinizing this piece cloſely: we live in a time when the broachers of the moſt pernicious doctrines, to poiſon the minds of their fellow-ſubjects, receive princely rewards for their aſſiduity, and are loaded with careſſes by our great men. It is therefore the duty of every good citizen to explode their tenets, and to remove the prejudices they have rendered faſhionable, to the ſubverſion of that union and harmony which ought to ſubſiſt between the American colonies and the mother-country.

The advocate in ſupport of the Britiſh dominion at Bengal reſts the merit of his cauſe chiefly on the territory of Bengal, which he ſtiles a Britiſh dependent dominion; and he affirms, that it is capable of yielding to Britain, in return for her ſmall ſhare of attention, not only more rich, but alſo more durable benefits, than all her other foreign poſſeſſions. At the ſame time he owns, that the ſyſtem of government which Britain hath permitted to be eſtabliſhed in Bengal muſt be productive of ruinous conſequences, if a remedy is not ſpeedily applied. But not to avail myſelf of ſuch a manifeſt contradiction in terms, I beg leave to fix your attention to a glaring partiality in this little piece. The author pretends to draw a compariſon between Bengal and our American colonies, and afterwards confines all his arguments, and his arithmetical calculations of the commercial benefits, ſolely to North America; for which reaſon I ſhall not enter into a detail of this defective part of the performance; but when I ſtate the balance of commerce in general, I ſhall ſhew, that all the Indian connections, taken collectively, fall ſhort of the commercial benefits drawn from our American colonies.

The only point remaining to be conteſted with this author is, the ſtability of dominion. He inſiſts, that the dominion of Great Britain over America is precarious, and that ſhe will one day or other loſe it.

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On the contrary, he maintains, that her dominion over Bengal, with very little care and attention, will be permanent.

I MIGHT deſtroy the whole chain of his reaſoning, by proving that Bengal cannot be called a dependent dominion on the crown of Great Britain; in fact the whole kingdom is only a province of the mogul's empire, and a revolution may happen at any time, as ſudden as thoſe which frequently took place before the peace made by Lord Clive, by which our company may be diſpoſſeſſed of their factories in Bengal, and the Britiſh crown of its pretended dominion of this country. As the matter at preſent ſtands, the Eaſt India company's governor and council of Bengal pay an annual tribute, in conſideration for the adminiſtration of this kingdom, and the enjoyment of its revenues, to the nabob, or viceroy of Bengal, and another to the great mogul. The moſt therefore that can be ſaid with truth is, that the Engliſh Eaſt India company have, by force of arms, obliged the powers of that part of India to ſubmit to a ceſſion of the territory of Bengal, by a commercial treaty highly advantageous to this company; that it enjoys the external form of a government under its direction, but pays annual tributes, which ſhew, that the right of dominion is ſtill veſted in the mogul, who, whenever he thinks proper to break the treaty, may appoint a nabob of Bengal, an enemy to this company and to their nation, and the company will be immediately involved in a bloody war, which may deprive them not only of this ſham dominion, but even deſtroy every factory they have in the country.

BUT I wiſh to meet him on other ground; for which reaſon, let the vain idea of dominion be purſued, and let us attend to his arguments in ſupport of the ſtability of this dominion.

" THE poſſeſſion of a foreign dominion ſtands in danger from only " one cauſe; namely, the attempt of other powers to wreſt that " dominion from the hands of the preſent proprietor; and this danger " is greater or leſs, in proportion to the abilities, opportunities, and " diſpoſitions of thoſe powers to execute ſuch purpoſe. Now the " powers that are to be here dreaded, muſt neceſſarily be, either the " native ſubjects themſelves, or otherwiſe external enemies; and the

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" firſt of theſe, even the native ſubjects of a conſiderable foreign " dominion, are in reaſon to be much more dreaded than any foreign " enemy; becauſe, in the firſt place, the motive of their enmity is " more immediate, active, and durable, than even the deſire of retrieving " their liberty and independence. In the ſecond place, a domeſtic " foe hath greater opportunities, and therefore greater ability, of " injuring the ſovereign, than a foreign enemy. And, in the third " place, this natural paſſion for liberty doth commonly ſtimulate the " natives to call in a foreign power, to aid them in expelling their " preſent maſters; whereby both theſe ſources of danger become " united.

" But in the caſe of Bengal, there is not perhaps on this globe " a country ſo peculiarly exempted from this domeſtic danger " as it is; the natives of which are ſo exceeding mild, pliant, " and ſubmiſſive, that this, which, in a northern clime, affords " the principal ground of apprehenſion, is here not even reckoned " upon. The inhabitants of Bengal have been more deſpotically " governed than thoſe of any other country, yet we do not find " that they ever made any attempts to reduce or reſtrain the " authority of their princes, or to redreſs their own grievances by " force. For we cannot admit the conſpiracy of Meer Jaffeir to be " an attempt of this nature; the treachery of two or three individuals, " tending to promote their own ambitious views by the means of " foreigners, cannot be termed a ſtruggle made by the natives to " recover their liberty. But the timid backwardneſs of thoſe " conſpirators, on that occaſion, diſcovers how little diſpoſed theſe " people are to dangerous attempts; and the ready, univerſal, and " unreſerved ſubmiſſion of the whole country to the ſmall force of the " Engliſh, indicates a moſt ſingular aptitude to be governed. Since " that revolution, they have been ſubjected to a tyranny, ſuch as was " never till then heard of, and which is, in its nature, the moſt " exquiſitely oppreſſive, and completely deſtructive, that can be " conceived, even a mercantile, joined to the political and military " deſpotiſm of foreigners and ſtrangers; yet the evident proſpect of " ruin hath not hitherto ſerved to rouſe that people into reſiſtance.

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" THIS extraordinary implicit ſubmiſſion of the induſtrious inhabi-
" tants of a wealthy, populous, and extenſive country, is certainly
" the moſt valuable of all qualities proper to a dependent dominion.
" For to it the ſovereign owes thoſe mighty advantages ariſing, as hath
" been ſhewn, from the abſolute diſpoſal of the rich finances of this
" country; and by it he is not only ſecured from that firſt and greateſt
" ſource of danger to his property, even the machinations of the native
" ſubjects, but he likewiſe derives therefrom a certain aid againſt the
" attempts of external enemies.

" BUT this valuable property of Bengal will appear more conſpicu-
" ouſly, by continuing the compariſon, on this head, betwixt it and
" America; though in fact it will, in this particular, appear to be
" rather a contraſt. For this latter country, which was originally
" diſcovered and planted by Britain, hath been by her nurſed and
" cheriſhed for above two hundred years, at a mighty expence of her
" wealth and ſtrength; ſo that the preſent inhabitants ſtand indebted
" to her for every thing they poſſeſs, for even their country, and their
" very being; yet no ſooner have theſe inhabitants perceived their own
" ſtrength ſo far formed through the indulgent care of this parent, as
" that her ſupport hath become ſomewhat leſs neceſſary, than they
" have ſet about eſtabliſhing a diſtinction of intereſt, refuſing to the
" mother country the moſt diſtant participation in their finances and
" reſources, and diſputing the moſt ſolemn orders of her government;
" inſomuch that the dominion of Britain over America, ſtands in much
" greater danger from the diſpoſition of the inhabitants themſelves,
" than from all her enemies.

" THE genius of the Americans is illiberally ſelfiſh, and ſordidly
" attached to their own intereſt; therefore Britain, by promoting the
" grandeur of that country, diminiſhes her own importance, and rears
" up a rival to her commerce. The Americans are at the ſame time
" of a diſpoſition haughty and inſolent, impatient of rule, diſdaining
" ſubjection, and by all means affecting independence; ſo that,
" without reckoning upon external enemies, we find that it demands
" a large ſhare of the force, and almoſt the entire attention of Britain,

" to

" to preſerve even the appearance of dominion over the inhabitants " themſelves; but it is to be feared, that, in a little time, her whole " force and attention will not ſuffice to render that country in any " ſhape uſeful to her.

" The other ſource of danger to a foreign dominion ariſes from the " attempts of external enemies; and theſe, with reſpect to Bengal, " may be divided into two claſſes; namely, the native powers, " adjoining to that country, and the European ſtates trading to and " poſſeſſing force in India.

" As to the firſt of theſe, the native powers, they are but little " formidable to Britain, provided ſhe conducts herſelf with any degree " of prudence and moderation. The climate of India, rendering the " inhabitants languid, effeminate, and ſoft, will ever prove an effectual " bar to their becoming truly warlike. For, notwithſtanding that " they are not deficient in temporary courage, yet are they totally " devoid of that vigour and activity, that firmneſs and perſevering " obſtinacy, which is peculiar to the natives of a colder clime. Being " altogether incapable of application, they can never, of themſelves, " attain to any degree of diſcipline, but muſt be led, or rather driven " into it, by others of a more maſculine diſpoſition than themſelves; " and no ſooner is this compelling force withdrawn, than they relapſe " into their primitive rudeneſs. Nay, even when they have acquired " the exerciſe of arms, unleſs they are headed by a body of Europeans, " whom they regard as a bulwark betwixt them and danger, they " will never be brought to act with ſteadineſs in the field. For theſe " reaſons, the warlike ability of an Indian neighbour is not to be " greatly dreaded: and the ſame cauſe that prevents their becoming " warlike, doth alſo render them leſs forward to hazardous enterprizes; " they are impreſſed with an awe and dread of the military proweſs of " Europeans; it muſt therefore be a very urgent provocation, or " otherwiſe a very glaring opportunity, that will induce a people thus " indolent, timid, and impatient of fatigue, to engage in war with " them; and certainly it is in the power of Britain, to evade giving " them ſuch occaſion; if ſhe ſhall conduct herſelf by the rules of

" diſcretion

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" diſcretion and of equity, ſhe may not only eſcape the enmity, but " conciliate the friendſhip of her Indian neighbours. It may not be " improper however to obſerve, that, if we even ſuppoſe hoſtilities " from this quarter, Bengal is wonderfully ſecured againſt the invaſion " of any of the neighbouring ſtates; for in the north it is barricadoed " by a chain of mountains, with a very few difficult paſſes; towards " the eaſt it is ſecured by impenetrable woods, and many deep rivers, " beſides that there is no ſtate of any conſequence on that ſide; the " ſouth is bounded by the ſea, the ſhore of which is every where " inacceſſible, except by the river of Bengal: ſo that the weſt is the " only quarter open to the attack of an Indian enemy.

" But the European nations, trading to and poſſeſſing force in India, " are enemies far more formidable to the poſſeſſions of Britain in that " quarter, than are the natives. However, of theſe, there is only " Holland and France, from whom ſhe hath any reaſon to apprehend " danger. And as to the firſt of theſe, ſhe is ſo much embarraſſed " with the charge and defence of what ſhe hath already acquired, that " there is no great probability of her moleſting Britain, unleſs a very " favourable occaſion ſhould tempt her to take advantage. But France, " being the natural enemy of Britain in Europe, will be ever ready to " attack her in India; and the power, activity, and opportunities of " this adverſary are ſuch, that it will demand the utmoſt care and " vigilance of Britain to guard herſelf againſt them."

THERE is but one rational method of forming probable conjectures concerning the future fate of kingdoms; and this is, by a reference to their paſt hiſtory, and it is by purſuing this method, that I propoſe to ſhew the abſurdity of our author's pretenſions, in comparing the ſtability of a dominion which has been ſubject to ſeveral accidents, and to diſturbances, which threatened various revolutions in the courſe of the laſt twenty years; with that of a country, which has remained in our poſſeſſion by his own account upwards of two hundred years.

IF I make it appear that we at preſent poſſeſs Bengal only by the fortune of war, and that we hold it by a very precarious tenure indeed, the folly, if not the iniquity, of the compariſon will at once ſurprize us, and excite our indignation.

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In the year 1751, Mr. (now Lord) Clive began his career of military glory; and at this period, Bengal was in danger of a revolution, which, had it ſucceeded, might have put an end to the factories of our Eaſt India company in that kingdom. A nabob, whoſe name is of no importance in this place, was ſet up by the French, in oppoſition to the nabob of Arcot, the friend and ally of the company. The nabob in the French intereſt, joined by another powerful Indian chief, and ſupplied with French officers, artillery, and ammunition, defeated and ſlew the company's ally. They then made themſelves nabobs of Arcot and Golconda, and gathered ſo much ſtrength, that, in 1752, they approached within nine miles of Madraſs. But the army of the new nabob of Arcot being defeated by the gallant Clive, and the nabob himſelf having been made priſoner, his head was ſtruck off by another Indian nabob, our ally, which reſtored tranquillity to the Engliſh company.

In 1756, (only four years after the laſt commotions) the French ſeized on the moſt conſiderable factories of our company on the coaſt of Coromandel; and, in the ſame year, Calcutta, and all the ſubordinate ſettlements or factories of the Engliſh in Bengal were taken and deſtroyed by Surajah Dowla, a new nabob of Bengal, who had been ſpirited up by our enemies to extirpate the Engliſh factories within his dominions; the cruel tragedy that ſucceeded is too well known, and too ſeverely felt by many families in England, to need recital. In fine, this tyrant ſent pioneers to raze Calcutta to the ground, and wrote to the governor of Madraſs, that no Engliſh ſubject ſhould for the future preſume to ſettle within his territory of Bengal. The following year, Lord Clive by land, and Admiral Watſon by ſea, aided with land-forces under the command of another brave officer, Colonel Coote, laid ſiege to Calcutta, recovered it, and forced the inhuman nabob into conceſſions much to the honour and advantage of the company. He promiſed, amongſt other things, not to diſturb the Engliſh in any of thoſe privileges or poſſeſſions ſpecified in the phirmand or patent of the mogul: (this very promiſe, by the bye, ſhews, that the company poſſeſs Bengal by licence;) but ſoon after, the haughty nabob forgot his

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his promiſes, oppreſſed the Britiſh factors, and prepared for a freſh perfidious attack on their ſettlements. To avert this blow, the company were obliged to countenance and ſupport a conſpiracy formed againſt him by his own prime-miniſter, Jaffeir Aly Khan. The well-concerted plan ſucceeded, Sujah Dowla the tyrant was depoſed, Jaffeir was proclaimed nabob of Bengal, by the aſſiſtance of Lord Clive, and the enemy of the Engliſh met the fate which all tyrants deſerve, he was put to death by his ſucceſſor. The French were excluded by the new nabob from all commerce in Bengal, and the Engliſh company were re-inſtated in all their privileges, indemnified for their loſſes, and their officers and troops liberally rewarded for their valour.

In 1759, the Engliſh dominion in Bengal was again menaced by a new enemy. The Dutch factory, jealous of the extenſion of the Engliſh trade, determined, if poſſible, to engroſs to themſelves the whole ſaltpetre branch of commerce. For this purpoſe, the governor of Batavia, it is ſuppoſed with the connivance of the nabob, (indebted to the Engliſh for his viceroyſhip) fitted out an armament of ſeven ſhips of war, under pretence of reinforcing the garriſons of their ſettlements in Bengal. But the vigilant Lord Clive, being at Calcutta when ſome of thoſe ſhips attempted to go up the river of Bengal to a ſtrong fort they poſſeſſed, called Chinchura, complained to the nabob, who ſent an order to the director and council of Hughley, forbidding this armament to paſs that garriſon at the mouth of the river. But as ſoon as the Dutch commodore had got all his ſquadron together, he paſſed up the river, notwithſtanding the order given to the council at Hughley; and in his way, to revenge the affront he pretended to have received, in being detained in his paſſage to Chinchura, he took ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the Engliſh company. This occaſioned Lord Clive to order three of the company's ſhips to attack the whole Dutch armament, which was defeated, and the commodore taken priſoner. The Dutch forces however had landed, to the number of eleven hundred; but theſe likewiſe were vanquiſhed; and it was obſerved, that the nabob, at the head of a conſiderable army, kept a ſuſpicious neutrality, during the battle, as if he meant to join the Dutch if they had conquered;

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but when he ſaw them defeated, he made a tender of his ſervice to the Engliſh, and even offered to ſubdue the Dutch fort at Chinchura with his own army.

In 1761, another diſturbance was attempted by means of the French intereſt; for they engaged a prince of the mogul empire, Shah Zadda, to take the field at the head of fourſcore thouſand men, againſt the forces of the Eaſt India company, commanded by Major John Carnack, and reinforced by the ſubah of Bengal. Since this period, we have been continually alarmed with the apprehenſions of a revolt from us by the ſubah of Bengal; nor can it be wondered at, when every ſpecies of extortion is practiſed by the company's ſervants, to enrich themſelves at the expence of the true intereſts of their maſters. After the conciſe review I have given of the ſudden great revolutions in our Eaſt India company's factory at Bengal, how abſurd is it to talk of our dominion there, or to compare it with that which we really poſſeſs in America?

Upon the whole, therefore, I muſt conclude, that our American colonies are eſtabliſhments on the trueſt principles of commerce, and that they are the primary ſource of the maritime ſtrength, riches, and proſperity of Great Britain; and that our Eaſt India factories are the ſecond efficient cauſe of her immenſe opulence.

And I muſt leave it on your minds, as an incontrovertable truth, that the Britiſh American colonies demand the firſt, and moſt powerful ſupport and encouragement of the three eſtates of the realm.

ON

ON ASSURANCE, OR INSURANCE.

THE principle of insurance is one of the most beneficial that could possibly be introduced into universal commerce, and it is one of the chief causes of its prosperity in every maritime state.

As I shall studiously avoid tedious dissertations, which are foreign to the title of my work, my readers must not expect to find in this place, either the laws of insurance, or of avaries; subjects in themselves so important and delicate, that they require volumes to illustrate them; but that I may not leave those, whom a general thirst after knowledge, or interest may prompt to investigate them, without guides, I refer them with great satisfaction, to two most excellent English authors, whose performances do honour to their country *.

HAVING discharged this duty, I shall now demonstrate the great advantages derived from the principle of insurance to commerce in general, and refute some erroneous notions concerning it, which ignorant people have propagated, with a view of bringing it into discredit.

EVERY person, the least conversant in marine affairs, must be sensible of the great peril of navigation; and those who understand geography need not be told, that some voyages are more dangerous than others. But even if we could suppose the subjects of this commercial country ignorant of the principles of geography and navigation, the common

* Magin on Insurances, 2 vol. 4to.
Lex Mercatoria Rediviva, folio, by Wyndham Beauwes, British Consul at Seville.

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news-papers are but too faithful monitors of the hazard attending adventures by ſea. So general is this ſubject, that there is ſcarce a family in Great Britain, high or low, but what has, or may have, ſome occaſion to experience the great perils of the ocean.

To obviate the fatal effects of the various accidents to which voyages by ſea are liable, is the buſineſs of inſurance; and the æra in which inſurance was fixed on ſuch a creditable and advantageous footing, as to make it a profitable branch of buſineſs, by which means it became general, may properly be ſtiled the epoch of the reſurrection of commerce in England. I need only remind you, that you owe the activity of this principle to the wiſe adminiſtration of Queen Elizabeth.

It will require no great depth of judgment to perceive, that before the practice of inſurance became general, and was eſtabliſhed on a ſecure baſis, commerce muſt have been extremely limited and confined, from the natural dread of the perils of the ſea. The loſs of a ſhip richly laden was ſufficient to ruin a capital houſe, and to reduce merchants of the firſt rank from affluence to mendicity.

Yet, to maintain the reſpectable character and figure in life of an Engliſh merchant, it was neceſſary to run the greateſt riſks: to adventure but little, to be only part owner of a valuable cargo, could never ſupport a family, whoſe head was either inveſted with the dignity of magiſtracy, or the honour of a ſeat in parliament; the more bold and inſenſible, therefore, adventured largely; but as the timid and cautious will always be the majority in the mercantile world, the progreſs of commerce was ſlow, and (making allowance for great loſſes) very often inadequate to the expences of carrying it on. A commercial undertaking was often ſet on foot by private aſſociations of merchants, and conducted for ſome time with proper ſpirit and vigour; but ſuddenly the loſs or capture of an homeward-bound ſhip, or two, diſſolved the aſſociation, injured the moſt opulent among the adventurers ſo much, that they were either diſheartened, or diſabled to engage in a ſecond enterprize, and totally ruined the leſs wealthy partners in the ſcheme.

While commerce was, by means of the double dangers of ſtorms

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and of enemies, reduced to a languiſhing condition, a phœnix ſprung from her expiring flame. Neceſſity gave birth to inſurance, as it had been the parent of mercantile companies.

To give new powers to commerce, by means of a common fund and joint intereſt, was the object of companies.

To ſecure theſe powers from declination or diminution, and thus to render the joint intereſt permanent, was the deſign of inſurance.

But it has been objected, that the premiums for inſurance have raiſed the price of manufactures, and have been one cauſe of making them too dear for foreign markets.

This propoſition I ſtrenuouſly deny; becauſe it appears very evident to me, that before inſurance was generally known and encouraged, manufactures and merchandize of every denomination were exported and imported on worſe terms.

The merchant-adventurer ſet a value on them proportioned to the riſk he conceived he run in the voyage. The ſhip's huſband, or owner, ſet an higher price on the freight, having no other indemnification for the peril of his ſhip. The captain or maſter, and the ſeamen, followed the ſame rule, with reſpect to wages; in proportion to the hazard of their lives, they very equitably rated their demands.

If therefore we eſtimate the probable amount of all theſe charges on commodities ſent to, or received from foreign countries, which depended on no certain rules of calculation, we cannot heſitate a moment to affirm, that inſurance has not enhanced the price of merchandize either inwards or outwards. On the contrary, in my humble opinion, we muſt have exported our native commodities much cheaper ſince the univerſal practice of inſurance, than before; for the premium paid by the merchant for inſurance of his cargo, or by the owner for his ſhip, bears no proportion to the additional price which the one put upon his merchandize, and the other on his bottom, as a counterbalance againſt the perils of the ſea.

Thoſe who object to excluſive commercial companies muſt be ſtrong advocates for inſurance; for when we conſider how very few private individuals are in a condition to undertake any great commercial enterpriſes,

enterpriſes, (and without a number of very great ones, this nation could not ſupport its power and dignity) the advantages of inſurance, which enables even a private adventurer to riſk his all at ſea, ſtand confeſſed.

THERE is another circumſtance in favour of the inſured, which I cannot paſs over in ſilence. The inſurers are ſubject to a variety of frauds and impoſitions from all the parties concerned on the ſide of the inſured, ſuch as the captain and his crew; whereas the inſurer ſtands alone, relies on the good faith of the contractors with him, and can neither elude nor alter the force of his ſignature. We ſcarce ever hear of an action at law brought againſt inſurers; but we have inſtances almoſt every term of the roguery of perſons inſured, and of conteſts reſpecting avaries. But a code, to be ſtiled The Law of Merchants, would prevent many of theſe, if properly compiled, and if a council of commerce was eſtabliſhed in every capital town in this kingdom, to decide commercial diſputes.

OUR principle being incontrovertable, we will proceed to anſwer another objection to part of the practice, as it is followed in England.

THE inſurance of lives is prohibited by law in France and Holland, but with us the cuſtom of inſuring embraces every object, without exception. This practice is exclaimed againſt by all foreign writers; and ſome of our own people have very idly found fault with it.

ON the very ſame principle that the owner is enabled to lower the freight, and the merchant his commodities, by the indemnification which removes the riſk of the voyage; the maſter and the officers (for it ſeldom deſcends to the common men) may undertake a perilous expedition, when they can inſure a certain ſum on their lives, for the benefit of their families, if they have the misfortune to be loſt. But we lay wagers, under the ſanction and form of inſurance, on the lives of great men at home; it has even been done in the caſe of ſtate-priſoners; this is a moſt ſavage, brutal cuſtom; and I will venture to ſay, that the ſtateſman who permits it, though but for a day, without uſing his beſt endeavours to procure an act of parliament to ſuppreſs it, deſerves to loſe his head.

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THE laws of civil ſociety require, that we ſhould not injure our fellow-ſubjects; nay, the plain ſimple laws of nature exacted this, before human governments were inſtituted. By what title then, do I pretend to alarm the fears of timid age, tottering on the brink of the grave, by giving eighty pounds to receive one hundred, when the wretch tortured with the ſtone, or with his brain half fired to madneſs with a raging fever, lies helpleſs on his couch, and, who has not ſtrength to reſent the barbarous inſult, ſhall expire? Perhaps, in an interval of eaſe, or of returning reaſon, he amuſes himſelf with a public news-paper; hope hitherto had ſupported him, it was his pillar of fortitude---but phyſicians, friends, might flatter; behold the fatal confirmation! his life has been done at eighty in the alley! Terror immediately takes poſſeſſion of his ſoul, heightens his diſeaſe, and very poſſibly the next day puts a period to his life. But mark the hardened murderer, who, with impunity, adds theſe twenty pounds to his ill-gotten ſtore! Thou fool, perhaps this night thy guilty ſoul ſhall be required of thee! But if not, this foul deed is regiſtered in heaven, and no angel of mercy ſhall approach the tablet to expunge the record with a tear of pity, for thou hadſt none in thy flinty boſom!

NEED I add how much more dreadful muſt be the ſituation of a ſtate-criminal, ſuch as was the unfortunate Admiral Byng? Not all the powers of eloquence could perſuade a man in ſuch circumſtances, that the vaſt ſums dependent on his being put to death had not ſome indirect influence on his trial. If it were only a ſuſpicion, ſufficient to add to the unhappineſs of a criminal, it is inhuman to raiſe it in his mind; and I muſt ſay that this cuſtom is a ſtanding reproach to the Britiſh government.

IT is reckoned ſound policy in France and Holland, not to permit the maſter or owner to inſure to the utmoſt value of the ſhip, becauſe it throws a temptation in the way of the owner and the maſter jointly, or of the latter ſeparately, to ſink the ſhip wilfully. This argument ſeems very rational; and, after the many inſtances we have had in England, of the fraudulent deſtruction of veſſels, it is ſurprizing to find, that owners and maſters are ſtill ſuffered to inſure above the value of the bottom.

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A SCHOONER entered the port of Oſtend in the ſpring of 1768, whoſe maſter was a native of Gibraltar; and, upon information given me under oath, that this man had formerly fled from London to Dunkirk, to avoid a proſecution in the admiralty court, on ſuſpicion of having ſunk a ſhip he commanded at that time, I determined to viſit the veſſel of which he was now maſter and ſole owner. Six Britiſh maſters accompanied me, who found her to be French-built, declared her to be a coffin, and added, that ſhe was only fit to ſink. On further enquiry I found, that he had bought her at Dunkirk for two hundred and fifty pounds, and inſured her at London for five hundred pounds. Theſe impoſitions being ſo common, one would imagine inſurers would take more care to have the bottoms they inſure properly ſurveyed. The owner ought always to run the riſk of one tenth of the value, to prevent frauds.

IT has been the ſubject of great conteſts in the mercantile world, Whether it is right to inſure an enemy's ſhips and merchandize in time of war?

THOSE who plead for the affirmative pretend, that it is idle to make laws to prevent a tranſaction which may be carried on by means of a written correſpondence; and that, even if ſuch prohibitions could put a ſtop to the practice, it would be highly impolitic to lay ſuch a reſtraint on the commerce of inſurance, which produces a certain profit.

BUT, in anſwer to this, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the practice gives the enemy all the advantages of the principle of inſurance, and defeats the firſt principle of war with reſpect to the inſurers.

IF commerce is the ſource of maritime power, and it is the firſt principle of war to weaken and deſtroy that power in your enemies, undoubtedly you are guilty of the greateſt poſſible folly and madneſs, if you render the commerce of your enemy ſecure, and give her new ſources of maritime power *. Beſides, if money is the ſoul of war, it

* By our inſurances the French diminiſh the amount of the diſtreſs and ruin which they would otherwiſe incur; for if, out of every hundred of their merchants, eighteen are abſolutely ruined, and eighty-two eſcape with conſiderable gains, there will be a greater quantity

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it may be more advantageous to your enemy to be paid ready money for ſhip and cargo, when taken, by means of inſurance, than to wait the ſlow return of the merchants to whom the cargo was conſigned, had it arrived in ſafety.

SUPPOSING your inſurers to be conſiderable gainers, you muſt be ſenſible this muſt be a branch of commerce conducted on falſe principles; for individuals would gain, while the nation ſuffered by having the hands of her enemy ſtrengthened.

BUT if the naval power of the inſurers is ſuperior to that of the inſured, it is moſt likely that the inſurers would loſe by this illicit commerce with the enemy; and thus what the ſuperior naval ſtrength of our country gained on the one ſide, would be thrown away by the merchant-inſurers on the other. Upon the whole therefore, we muſt highly approve the act of the Britiſh parliament, made during the war of 1744, to prevent inſuring the enemy's ſhips and merchandiſe.

IT ſhould be an invariable maxim to carry on the buſineſs of inſurance by incorporated companies, known to have a certain conſiderable joint fund, ſufficient to enable them to anſwer the demands that may be made on them for extraordinary, as well as ordinary loſſes. We have two ſuch companies in London, the ROYAL EXCHANGE, and the LONDON ASSURANCE, which were incorporated by ſtatute of 6 Geo. I. c. 18.

quantity of diſtreſs upon the whole, than if all the hundred are fined according to their abilities. In one caſe, you ſee abſolute ruin to many, and terror to the whole; in the other caſe, neither ruin nor terror, but a general frugal ſecurity.

The buſineſs in war is to uſe every advantage and ſuperiority to diſtreſs your adverſary, though perhaps you may awaken him thereby to a new future attention to his intereſt in a particular article; for you are to be ſuppoſed to acquire ſuch power by uſing your preſent advantages, as to force him to yield to you at once, more than you can expect to obtain in futurity, by leaving his negligence unroused. Thus, if at preſent, by refuſing to inſure the French, we ſhould force them into a diſtreſs, which might oblige them to ſue for peace only three months ſooner than they would do otherwiſe, our advantage from thence, in the ſaving of expence only, would be greater than the preſent value of our profit by inſuring them *in infinitum*; not to mention our advantage otherwiſe, in the increaſe of our own, by the ruin of their commerce.

Eſſay towards deciding the important Queſtion, Whether it be a National Advantage to Great Britain to inſure the Ships of her Enemies. London, 1747.

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and each of them raiſed the ſum of 1,500,000l. by the ſale of ſhares, which, together with the profits made by theſe corporations ſince, independent of the dividends they have made to the proprietors, form a ſecure and adequate capital, on which thoſe who inſure with theſe companies may firmly rely. But as the law of the land does not prevent private inſurers from underwriting ſums to any amount, I think it a duty I owe the public, to aſſign my reaſons for giving the preference to theſe two companies.

PRIVATE underwriters of policies of inſurance are for the moſt part men of the firſt reputation and fortunes in the city of London; but they are moſt commonly merchants, and as ſuch liable to the various accidents attendant on commercial tranſactions, which, notwithſtanding all the precaution and foreſight of human wiſdom, will ſometimes miſcarry. Indeed it very ſeldom happens that underwriters fail; but if we could produce only one inſtance ſince the year 1720, when theſe companies were eſtabliſhed, it would be ſufficient to juſtify my recommending inſurance with companies, in preference to private inſurance; but, unfortunately for the inſured, if it were neceſſary, I could produce two in every year upon an average, which, in the ſpace of fifty years, makes one hundred failures of private inſurers.

THE principle on which inſurance turns is, the abſolute ſecurity of every commercial adventurer by ſea. Now, nothing can be more abſurd, than for a man to pay a premium to aſſure him from the conſequences of the dangers of the ſea, and afterwards to have that ſecurity fail him.

THOUGH it is not to be expected in human affairs, that an impoſſibility of breaking a contract ſhould make part of its conditions, yet, in the buſineſs of inſurance, I preſume to ſay, that it ought to exceed the bounds of probability. Let not therefore the moſt reſpectable merchant conſider this maxim in an unfavourable light; the author looks up with veneration to the character of a reputable Britiſh merchant; but truth knows no diſtinction of perſons or rank, when her ſacred oracles are to be put in one ſcale, and the higheſt degree of human credit and dignity in the other.

EXCHANGES,

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EXCHANGES, public credit, circulation of money, and banks, would follow next in the order of our Elements of Commerce; but theſe I muſt neceſſarily incorporate into the Elements of Finances, to avoid tautology and prolixity.

HAVING therefore cloſed the general elements of commerce, I ſhall proceed to give a ſketch of the true balance of trade; after which I ſhall treat of the adminiſtration of commerce ſeparately, and then conclude this diviſion of my work with the outlines of the education, accompliſhments, and character of a Britiſh merchant.

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ON THE BALANCE OF COMMERCE.

I KNOW not any ſubject upon which commercial writers have beſtowed ſo much pains to ſo little purpoſe.

THE earlieſt author of any note on this intricate point is Sir Joſiah Child, from whom I think it neceſſary to quote the following obſervations.

"THE balance of trade is commonly underſtood two ways. Firſt, "generally, Something whereby it may be known whether this "kingdom gaineth or loſeth by foreign trade. Secondly, particularly, "Something whereby we may know by what trades the kingdom "gains, and by what it loſeth.

"FOR the firſt of theſe, it is the moſt general received opinion, "and that not ill grounded, that this balance is to be taken by a ſtrict "ſcrutiny of what proportion the value of the commodities exported "out of the kingdom bear to thoſe imported; and if the exports "exceed the imports, it is concluded the nation gets by the general "courſe of its trade, it being ſuppoſed that the overplus is imported "in bullion, and ſo adds to the treaſure of this kingdom; gold and "ſilver being taken for the meaſure and ſtandard of riches."

A MODERN writer, whom we have frequently mentioned, has ſtated the balance of trade nearly in the ſame terms *.

* IF, upon the whole of our traffic, we export to a greater value than we import, the balance will be in our favour to the amount of the difference. If we import more than we export, the balance will be againſt us to the amount of the difference.

Conſiderations on the Commerce, &c. of the Kingdom.

BOTH

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BOTH Child and Cary recommend the Cuſtom-houſe books as the only method of aſcertaining this ſurplus value of the exports; yet they agree in acknowledging the fallacy of the Cuſtom-houſe entries, and the utter impoſſibility of getting at the amount of the contraband trade, or ſmuggling, which ought however to be taken into the general balance. Cary likewiſe, falls into the old error of reckoning the balance of trade by the increaſe of bullion. Mun is another writer who recommends a reference to the Cuſtom-houſe books, as a means of ſtriking this balance. But, notwithſtanding all our care and attention, it will be found extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to obtain a true account both with reſpect to quantity and value of the merchandize exported from, and imported into Great Britain, for the following reaſons.

I. BECAUSE many goods are over-rated outwards, and under-rated inwards.

II. ON account of ſurplus-entries ſome merchants entering double what they intend to ſhip off, to blind and prevent others from ſending the like commodities to the ſame market.

III. BECAUSE prodigious quantities of fine commodities, which are not bulky, are clandeſtinely imported to a conſiderable amount, and Flanders fine lace is permitted to come by the poſt.

IV. BECAUSE neither the profits we make by the freight of our ſhips, nor the rates for which our manufactures are ſold abroad, nor the produce of our colonies, re-exported from home to foreigners, are to be found in the Cuſtom-houſe books, or to be got at by any other means.

V. BECAUSE we have no general account of accidents that diminiſh the ſtock ſent out; ſuch as, loſſes by ſea, bad markets, foreign bankruptcies, confiſcations, and captures in time of war.

BUT we have another difficulty ſtill to encounter on the ſubject of ſtriking a general balance of commerce.

I DENY the truth of the maxim advanced by all theſe authors, and affirm, that the rule they give us for judging of the balance is falſe.

NEITHER the ſurplus value of the exports to the imports, nor yet the

the increaſe of bullion, are the true criterions by which we are to determine that the general balance is in our favour. On the contrary, the imports for ſeven years ſucceſſively may be to a much greater amount than the exports; and the quantity of bullion, nay, of coin, may have kept diminiſhing all this time, and yet the general balance of commerce may have been every year in our favour.

THIS is my hypotheſis; it is new, and may appear ſingular; but I hope it will not be found the leſs true, and I mean to prove it to your ſatisfaction.

BY a calculation made in the year 1723, I find that we were ſuppoſed to pay a balance to Norway, over and above the value of our exports to that country, amounting to

	£. 130,000,
To Sweden, -	- 240,000,
To Ruſſia, -	- 400,000,
Total, - -	£. 770,000

THE greateſt part of this ſum was for timber, iron, pitch, tar, and other naval ſtores. I muſt take the liberty to bring this account on to the time when the encouragement given to our plantations on the continent of America began to operate, and conſequently our dependence on the above foreign countries, for theſe neceſſary articles, purchaſed at exorbitant rates, began to decline yearly.

IF I had any later calculations by me, I would not take this method, which, however, can make no difference in the illuſtration of my hypotheſis.

WE will ſuppoſe, that, from the year 1749 to 1759, we continued importing quantities of naval ſtores to be laid up in the dock-yards, or for immediate uſe, which made the general balance of the amount of the imports exceed conſiderably the amount of all our exports, and that ſome of our bullion had been ſent out to pay the balance, which had likewiſe diminiſhed that; upon this ſtate of the caſe, according to our authors, the balance of trade would have been againſt us for ten years. But, according to my ſyſtem, it would have been conſiderably

in

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in our favour; for, in the courſe of the next ten years, we ſhould require little or no ſupplies from the countries above mentioned, or at leaſt leſs than the amount of our exports to them; and we ſhould have a valuable ſtock in hand of uſeful imports on advantageous terms.

THE flouriſhing ſtate of our colonies of late years has converted this ſuppoſed caſe into a real one; the imports from Sweden, Norway, and Ruſſia, are conſiderably diminiſhed; and, in proportion as the plantations continue increaſing the cultivation of hemp and flax, they will be ſtill more on the decline.

BUT ſo great are the imports from America and from India for re-exportation, that if one of theſe writers was to attempt to draw the balance in his way, he might make it againſt us for two or three years, if he only conſidered the ſtate of our bullion, and did not look into our warehouſes filled with valuable ſtock for home-conſumption, for the uſe of our fleets, and lying by for an advantageous opportunity to be re-exported.

I APPREHEND therefore the beſt way to form a rational conjecture concerning the general balance, as we cannot bring it to a certainty, is, to enquire into the nature of the univerſal commerce we carry on to all quarters of the globe.

WITH this view I introduce here the moſt conciſe and accurate ſketch I could procure of each reſpectively.

No one will diſpute the balance of trade to be totally in our favour with reſpect to our colonies and the Eaſt Indies, nor yet that they are the ſource of our ſucceſsful commerce with other parts of the globe. To attempt to give exact eſtimates of this balance would involve us in the intricacies of arithmetical calculations, and at laſt leave us in a ſtate of uncertainty; becauſe the accounts taken from the Cuſtom-houſe books, as we obſerved before, are fallacious. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with what I find already in print on this head, in a pamphlet moſt aſſuredly written under the direction of that able financier, the late right honourable George Grenville, who, ſetting aſide his great error in taxing the North American colonies, was one of the moſt honeſt and enlightened miniſters of the age.

IN

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In 1765, the exports to New England, New York, Penſilvania, Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina, amounted to £. 1,914,949 *.

The imports from the ſame places I have collated, and carefully caſt up, from Guthrie's Geographical, Hiſtorical, and Commercial Grammar, a moſt excellent work †, on which I can the more ſafely rely, becauſe I find the exports agree with Mr. Grenville's account, who, we may be aſſured, ſpared no pains or expence to come as near the truth as poſſible. The imports from theſe colonies, upon an average of three years, amount to £. 3,179,000.

Here again, according to the old way of calculating, the balance is againſt us to the amount of £. 1,264,051; but, upon my principle, all this exceſs of the imports beyond the exports is a real balance in our favour, as it conſiſts of ſtock in raw materials for our manufactures, or in commodities, ſuch for inſtance as tobacco, rice, ſugar, and rum, proper for re-exportation; by which means a freſh quantity of ſhipping and of ſeamen are employed, to the increaſe of our navigation.

Thus, we ſee that theſe colonies, without reckoning our Weſt India iſlands, are worth more to us than the Eaſt India commerce, even with the benefits ſaid to accrue from the revenue of Bengal, which, according to the account of the author of the Compariſon, do not exceed £. 1,300,000.

The balance in our favour from the Weſt India ſettlements has never been properly computed; no account is given in the State of the Nation, nor in Guthrie, of the exports and imports; but I will venture to affirm, on probable conjecture, that the commercial advantages derived from them cannot be eſtimated at leſs than £. 1,000,000 per annum.

Let us now review the ſtate of our commerce nearer home, within the boundaries of Europe.

In 1766, our exports to Sweden amounted to £. 59,678, and our imports to £. 195,499. The decreaſe of the imports, we may obſerve,

* Preſent State of the Nation. London, printed for J. Almon, 1768.

† London, printed for J. Knox, 1771.

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is very conſiderable, and in proportion as our colonies find encouragement to ſupply us with pitch, tar, iron, and timber, they will dwindle away to a very moderate ſum, comparatively to what it ſtood in the year 1766. But as the Swedes take from us a conſiderable quantity of our manufactures, and likewiſe of the products of our colonies, we ſhould not wiſh totally to annihilate this branch of commerce.

In the ſame year, the exports to Ruſſia amounted to £. 109,900; and the imports from thence to £. 684,585. The cultivation of hemp and flax in our American colonies will leſſen this balance every year. But the vaſt importance and extent of our linen manufactures ſhould make us conſider this balance, ſeemingly againſt us, greatly in our favour; for though it is paid in ſpecie, yet without a regular ſupply of hemp and flax, and of flax-ſeed, our linen manufactures would grow both ſcarce and dear, and this valuable branch of trade would ſoon decline. It is therefore our intereſt to pay this balance, till our colonies can ſupply us with the full quantities we want of theſe raw materials. We have beſides a political conſideration to combine with our commercial intereſt reſpecting Ruſſia; we find in her, a powerful ally, embarked in the ſame cauſe, the preſervation of the liberties and tranquillity of Europe.

Our exports to Spain the ſame year amounted to £. 1,078,731; our imports from that country to only £. 558,002. Here we have a balance in our favour, in ſpecie, amounting to £. 520,729, and, in my humble opinion, a ſolution to the high ſtile aſſumed by the court of Spain upon occaſion of the late diſputes about Falkland's iſland; and though ſome may find it their intereſt to clamour perpetually for a Spaniſh war, the cool and diſpaſſionate muſt be ſenſible, that we ſhall gain more in a courſe of years by commerce, than even by a ſucceſsful war with this nation.

In our commerce with Portugal, I find ſo great a difference between the years 1764 and 1766, that I muſt notice it.

In 1764 our exports to Portugal amounted to £. 1,266,998; and our imports from that country to £. 312,974: the difference in our

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favour was £. 954,024. An immenſe ſum for Great Britain to rece in ſpecie upon the balance of her commerce with any foreign power, not dependent upon her.

In 1766, the exports were only £. 667,104, and the imports £. 347,806; ſo that the balance that year was only £. 319,298 in our favour; and I am informed from good authority, that it has been ſtill leſs every year ſince that period. The complaints of the Britiſh merchants trading to, and of the Britiſh factors reſiding in Portugal, have been very loud, and urged very home. Every diminution of any valuable branch of commerce ſhould be conſidered as a jewel loſt out of the imperial diadem of Britain, and ſhould arouſe the attention of adminiſtration to ſtudy the means of recovering and replacing it. But this matter belonging properly to the miniſterial department, ſhall be reſumed under the next head, when treating of the adminiſtration of commercial affairs.

Our commerce with Portugal is very beneficial, and the balance moſt aſſuredly is ſtill conſiderably in our favour.

Our exports to Holland, in 1766, amounted to £. 1,602,924, and our imports from thence to only £. 374,587. Here again we have a balance of £. 1,228,337 in our favour. But ſince the exportation of corn has been prohibited, it muſt have diminiſhed more than one half. Some writers would likewiſe deduct the annual intereſt we pay the Dutch, for the large property they have in our funds: but with no ſhadow of reaſon, while we make ten per cent in trade of the money borrowed of foreigners at four.

In the ſame year, our exports to Germany amounted to £. 1,811,268, and our imports from that country to only £. 633,672; making another balance of above one million in favour of Great Britain.

I wish every ſenſible Briton, who is led away by falſe notions of national honour, would but meditate on this outline of the beneficial commerce we carry on with the powers with whom the factious, the ſelfiſh, and the raſh part of our fellow-ſubjects wiſh us to go to war upon points of little importance.

With Flanders we carry on a little commerce, which, ſince cambricks

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cambricks have been prohibited, and our linen manufactures have ſurpaſſed theirs, is wholly in our favour, and the balance paid in ſpecie.

To Turkey and Italy I apprehend we pay a ſmall balance in ſpecie; but it is for unmanufactured commodities, proper for the uſe of our home-fabricks; raw and thrown ſilk being the chief articles.

To Denmark, Norway, Poland, and Hamburgh, we likewiſe pay a balance; to the two firſt very impoliticly, for deal-boards, timber, and iron, which we might have from our colonies, or even at home, if the growth of timber, both oak and fir, was properly encouraged.

But the commerce moſt highly detrimental to this country in time of peace, is that with France, both legal, and clandeſtine. I know not any one article we import from that country of real utility either for home-conſumption or re-exportation; yet ſo blinded are we by faſhion and luxury, that we ſtrengthen the hands of our natural enemies and rivals in commerce, the inſtant we have terminated a war which has coſt us ſixty or ſeventy millions ſterling, by wearing their manufactures, and preferring them to our own; and, finally, to complete our folly, government, though the road has been chalked out by their conſuls reſident on the Flemiſh coaſts, will not exert itſelf to ſuppreſs a contraband trade carried on from Zealand, from Auſtrian and French Flanders, and the coaſts of France, which robs her revenue of one million annually, and drains her of another in ſpecie.

Upon the whole, we may clearly perceive, that the extenſive commerce of Great Britain is actually at this time on a moſt advantageous footing; but, at the ſame time, we muſt be ſenſible, that there are many things to rectify in the internal direction of commercial affairs at home, in order to ſecure and preſerve this proſperity, and to prevent a fatal reverſe, which, whenever it happens, muſt produce a dreadful revolution in the political ſtate of Great Britain. It will therefore be proper to ſhew on what principles the adminiſtration of

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our inland trade and univerſal commerce ſhould be conducted; and, in doing this, I ſhall, of courſe, fulfil a promiſe made in the preceding pages; for a recapitulation of my ſubject will be indiſpenſably neceſſary.

ON

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ON THE

ADMINISTRATION OF COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the apparent proſperous ſtate of the commerce of Great Britain, neceſſity obliges me to point out ſundry defects in the conduct of our rulers, which ſtrike at the root of ſome of its firſt principles, and make it nearly amount to a miracle, that we ſtill hold the rank of the firſt commercial nation in Europe.

By ſtating generally, the regulations which are wanting to perfect the internal direction of an extenſive commerce, we ſhall be enabled to deduce our capital errors, and to convey uſeful hints to government, not unaccompanied with ſome neceſſary reprehenſions.

THE celebrated French miniſters, the DUKE OF SULLY, and Monſieur COLBERT: that moſt excellent French writer, MONTESQUIEU, and the lateſt Britiſh author we have on the ſubject, Sir JAMES STEUART, all agree in eſtabliſhing this invariable maxim,

THAT the encouragement of agriculture ſhould be the firſt object of the ſtateſman who has the lead in the adminiſtration of the public concerns of a great, commercial people.

AND the ſame authors maintain, that there are two kinds of agriculture; the one founded upon true, and the other on falſe principles.

AGRIGULTURE in England is at preſent proceeding rapidly on falſe principles, and undermining our manufactures, our inland trade, and ſome beneficial branches of our univerſal commerce.

MONTESQUIEU very juſtly obſerves, that lands laid down for paſture will always be thinly peopled, becauſe of the few hands required to manage

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manage them; whereas corn-lands employ much greater numbers to cultivate them.

A FARM that requires ten horſes and four ſervants to till it for corn, if the grounds are thrown into graſs, may be managed with one ſervant and two horſes. Need any thing more be urged to prove, that the increaſe of our paſture lands diminiſhes the number of our huſbandmen in the proportion of three out of four, upon every ſuch farm ſo converted to paſturage? Now let us examine the motive to this prevailing evil; this is no other than increaſed rents, to anſwer the purpoſes of luxurious living. The farm employed in raiſing corn will produce a ſurplus of forty pounds per annum; but by turning it to graſs, at the end of the year, I find the ſurplus raiſed to fifty pounds. Avarice and prodigality will equally ſeize on ſuch an advantage; and unleſs government interferes, we ſhall hear no more of that advantageous branch of commerce, the exportation of corn, for which we have received ſuch amazing balances in ſpecie from Holland and other countries, nor will our induſtrious poor ever eat bread again on moderate terms.

IF therefore an able miniſter, who aſpires to laſting popularity, would take this cauſe in hand, he would receive the acclamations of a grateful people; and, in this caſe, he might make uſe of his influence, his miniſterial majority in the Houſe of Commons, laudably; the life-guard of miniſterial power might here be uſefully employed; the corps of penſioners and placemen, forming a majority, might deliver us from the tyranny of avaricious, prodigal, or obſtinate land-holders, who will not be convinced by ſound argument, that the ultimate value of lands depends on commerce; and that the ſpecies of agriculture they are ſo fond of, becauſe it gives a temporary advanced rent, muſt depopulate the country, and dry up the ſources of commerce.

BUT I have advanced ſo much already on this ſubject, under the heads of AGRICULTURE and POPULATION, that I will not tire your patience with a repetition of the ſame ſubject. On the whole, I believe you will think, that we want a reform in the article of agriculture.

POPULATION and agriculture are ſo combined, ſo dependent on each other,

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other, that it is hard to ſeparate them. When the firſt is conducted on falſe principles, the latter ſuffers of courſe. Mankind will multiply in every country where plenty ſupports the children, without depriving the parents of their neceſſary ſubſiſtence. In a village, where you ſee none but paſture lands adjoining, you will find a very ſcanty portion of inhabitants, ragged and poor, barely exiſting on the milk of their cows, and the vegetables of their gardens. Turn to another, where you ſee the hearty peaſants loading home the corn harveſt, and you will find them decently cloathed, followed to and from the field by a train of healthy children, and every thing around them beſpeaking peace, plenty, and rural felicity.

To procure a native, generous population, is then the next duty of a patriot miniſter; and for this purpoſe he muſt remove all unnatural impediments to the propagation and ſubſiſtence of the human ſpecies; even morality in ſuch a cauſe muſt relax a little, and the illegitimate offspring of the thoughtleſs clown, who, following nature's impulſe, has tranſgreſſed againſt the laws of ſociety, muſt be taken care of at the expence of the ſtate; but, above all, every reſtraint ſhould be removed, and the greateſt encouragements given to matrimony among the lower claſſes of the induſtrious poor. Settlements ſhould be provided for them, by obliging land-holders to erect ſmall cottages, and to let them on moderate terms, with proper portions of land, to young married people.

WITH reſpect to MANUFACTURES, the honeſt ſtateſman will have an arduous taſk to introduce a reform; for, by endeavouring to proportion the prices of wages to the advantages derived from the labour of the induſtrious poor *, he will raiſe a hornet's neſt about his ears, and will have to combat with mercenary, inſolent, and factious maſters, who, by half-ſtarving the poor, and afterwards vending their fabrics

* The Dutch give generally more wages to all their manufacturers, by at leaſt two-pence in the ſhilling, than the Engliſh. Wherever wages are high, univerſally throughout the world, it is an infallible evidence of the riches of that country; and wherever wages for labour run low, it is a proof of the poverty of that place.

Child on Trade.

at

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at an enhanced price above their value, have acquired princely fortunes. To reſtrain the immoderate conſumption of ſpirituous liquors, and to reform ale-houſes throughout the kingdom, is ſtill a more ungrateful taſk, which for a time cannot fail to irritate a miſguided populace, blind to their own intereſt; and any diminution in the revenue, occaſioned by ſuch a patriotic plan, may ſhake him out of the ſeat of power. Yet no man can doubt the neceſſity of enquiring into the conduct of the maſter-manufacturers, or of taking ſome meaſures to better the condition of the workmen.

But the two principal reformations wanted under this head, and which we cannot diſpenſe with, are, firſt, the reduction or taking off the exciſes on all materials uſed for our manufactures, or in any reſpect uſeful in the conduct of them; ſuch, for inſtance, are the exciſes on ſoap, candles, leather, &c. Secondly, The taking ſome method to decreaſe the number of menial domeſtic ſervants, and to throw them back into the manufactories, farms, and villages, that population may be increaſed, without the dreadful expedient of naturalization.

But it will be aſked, what miniſter will be ſo bold to introduce ſuch innovations, however ſenſible he may be that they are for the public good? I readily anſwer, None, unleſs he is ſupported by the Crown, and has, at the ſame time, from his general good character, the confidence of the people. Such a ſtateſman may bring about any beneficial revolution whatever; but he muſt firſt be made ſenſible of the truth of this maxim: "That the preſent model of adminiſtration is by no means ſuited to the extenſive commerce and vaſt territorial juriſdiction of Great Britain." Such a plan might have done tolerably well in the days of ELIZABETH, when the ſun of commerce was juſt riſen; but in its preſent meridian ſplendor, we want a good board of trade, or, more properly ſpeaking, an intelligent COUNCIL OF COMMERCE, in almoſt every county in England, and in every province of our American colonies.

The ſtateſman who takes the lead in adminiſtration, who enjoys the ſuperior confidence of his ſovereign, and who means to promote his royal maſter's glory, and his people's happineſs, muſt abſolutely begin with

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with eſtabliſhing theſe councils of commerce in all parts of the Britiſh empire.

THE wiſeſt commercial ſtates, both monarchical and republican, ſet him the example. France, Holland, Germany, Denmark, and ſome others of leſs note, have their chambers of commerce *.

SIR JOSIAH CHILD obſerves concerning the Dutch, "That they "have, in their greateſt councils of ſtate and war, trading merchants "that have lived abroad in moſt parts of the world, who have not "only the critical knowledge, but the practical experience of com- "merce, by whom laws and orders are contrived, and peaces with "foreign princes projected, to the great advantage of their trade." And CARY, a more modern writer, recommends it to the conſideration of parliament to appoint ſtanding committees of trade, compoſed of men well verſed therein, whoſe ſole buſineſs it ſhould be to conſider the ſtate thereof, and to find out ways to improve it. He adds, "Great care muſt be taken, that theſe committees be not filled up "with ſuch who know nothing of the buſineſs, and thereby this "excellent inſtitution become only a matter of form and expence. "In the management of things of much leſs moment, we employ ſuch "who are ſuppoſed to underſtand what they undertake. Trade requires "as much policy as matters of ſtate, and can never be kept in a regular "motion by accident; when the frame of it is out of order, we know "not where to begin to mend it, for want of a ſet of experienced "builders, ready to receive applications, and able to judge where the "defect lies."

* IT is true, we have a board of trade, but it takes no immediate cognizance of the commerce of the kingdom; ſo that it may properly be conſidered, as indeed it is commonly called, a Plantation Office; and that almoſt merely too for political uſe. In France there is an active and well informed council of commerce. In Holland the principal merchants have a great ſhare in the government of the country. Here we appear to be all adrift in commercial matters, without pilot or compaſs, driving before the wind of accident, amidſt quick-ſands and rocks; ſo that if we long eſcape ſhipwreck, we ſhall have wonderful good fortune.

Conſiderations on the Commerce, Policy, and Circumſtances of this Kingdom.

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If only one council of commerce in this kingdom, and another in each of the American colonies, had ſubſiſted on this plan, we ſhould never have heard of the ſtamp act, nor of ſome other acts of parliament ſtill unrepealed, which injured commerce to a very high degree, the inſtant they were made. Such, amongſt others, was the act of the ninth and tenth of William III. for the more effectual preventing the importation of bone lace, which cauſed a prohibition of Britiſh woollen cloths (our ſtaple manufacture) in Flanders, and obliged the ſame parliament, in the next ſeſſion, to repeal the act conditionally, viz. three months after the prohibition on our cloths ſhould be taken off. This was accordingly done; but, by a ſubſequent act, the duties on thoſe laces, as I have before remarked, were made ſo high, that, by way of repriſal, duties were laid on our woollen cloths and ſtuffs, by the Flemiſh government, which deſtroyed above two thirds of this valuable branch of commerce.

In ſhort, as Cary ſays, "Parliaments have very often made commercial matters worſe than they found them;" one reaſon of which is, that the regulations of trade require more time to look into their diſtant conſequences, than one or two ſeſſions: another is, that the ſtudy of the theory of commerce is not made a part of the education of youth, who are likely to become Britiſh ſenators. The late worthy Sir JOHN BERNARD uſed frequently to complain of this in the Houſe of Commons, and to tell our fine gentlemen, that they did not know ſo much of the matter before them (when the ſubject was commercial) as ſchool-boys and young apprentices. Without any reflection on the members of the preſent Board of Trade in particular, I muſt add, that the ſame might be ſaid of the liſts of the members of it for twenty years back, or more; they ever were, and they now are, gentlemen promoted to thoſe places by court intereſt, but whoſe education has been as foreign from all ideas of commerce, as from the Mahometan religion.

The expediency of inſtituting councils of commerce, needs no further proof; it reſts on the beſt authorities, ancient and modern.

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THE good effects of ſuch an eſtabliſhment may be deduced from the various duties of their office, which I ſhall briefly point out; and from hence likewiſe ſhall diſcover the defectiveneſs of the preſent ſyſtem of government, with reſpect to commerce.

1. IT would be the buſineſs of the chambers of commerce, in the counties of this kingdom, to make reports, every three months at leaſt, of the ſtate of agriculture, population and manufactures, to the grand council of commerce at London. The members of theſe provincial chambers being elected annually, by the freemen of corporate towns, from the principal traders reſiding in the reſpective counties, it would be their intereſt, as well as their duty, to mark any decline in agriculture, any ſymptoms of depopulation, any diſcouragement of manufactures, or any impediment to the general circulation of inland trade. No ingroſſing of farms; no razing of cottages; no monopolizing of proviſions; no oppreſſions of the poor, working manufacturer, by low wages; in a country where high wages are the proof of riches and commercial proſperity; no combinations of workmen to preſcribe illegal conditions to their maſters; no frauds in the quantity or quality of manufactures could remain long unconcealed or unredreſſed, if ſuch inſtitutions were general; the elections impartial; and the helm of government ſteered by an honeſt, diſcerning ſtateſman.

2. IN ſea-port towns, theſe commercial juries would report any viſible diminution in the number and tonnage of ſhipping uſually trading to or from each reſpective port; they would watch over the increaſe or decreaſe of thoſe uſeful ſubjects, Britiſh ſeamen; they would remonſtrate on exorbitant port duties, which frequently occaſion a diminution of foreign navigation to our ports; they would petition for redreſs of the tedious, perplexing mode of paying the Cuſtom-houſe duties; they would notice when any merchandize uſually exported to the benefit of the commerce of this realm ceaſed, and point out the method of reſtoring it; they would preſent, as great grievances, all impolitic importations of articles of coſtly, effeminate luxury, from countries which do not conſume any of our native products, or manufactures;

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nufactures; they would effectually deſtroy ſmuggling, by their vigilance and activity in diſcovering the clandeſtine importers, the venders, and the fraudulent purchaſers (a moſt eaſy taſk, if the Treaſury would part with only trifling ſums, in compariſon of what is idly laviſhed on worſe accounts; to encourage the ſuppreſſion of all contraband trade); in fine, they would make a proper repreſentation to government of the oppreſſive exciſes on materials uſed in the mechanic arts and manufactures, which neceſſarily enhance their value at foreign markets.

3. THEY would frame a conciſe, complete mercantile code, or body of commercial laws, reforming thoſe ſtatutes which were well adapted to the infant ſtate of our trade, but which are by no means ſuited to the preſent extenſive commerce of Great Britain. This code once digeſted, approved by the majority of the chambers of commerce in the kingdom, ratified by the grand council at London, and legaliſed by act of parliament, would enable the different chambers to exerciſe a judicial authority, and to terminate mercantile diſputes in a ſummary way, as is practiſed in France, and other countries *.

4. THEY would moſt aſſuredly deviſe ſome means of employing the poor; of obliging the robuſt to follow a life of honeſt induſtry; and of puniſhing the idle and diſſolute, in the firſt inſtance, to prevent their becoming criminals, which ſhould be the firſt object of the police †.

5. THEY would alter the mode of ſatisfaction to be given by inſolvent debtors to their creditors; they would not be ſo abſurd as to ſhut up in priſons, at the will of the latter, a number of uſeful, laborious ſeamen, mechanics, manufacturers and tradeſmen; moſt of whom, if not all, might be employed in their ſeveral branches, partly for the benefit of

* In this opinion of a commercial or court merchant in every county, for deciding the ordinary conteſts in trade, without carrying them into the common law-courts, I am ſupported by the authorities of Child, Cary, Mun, Poſtlethwayte, and others, who all declare it to be an eſtabliſhment much wanted in England.

† On this ſubject ſee Mr. Young's account of the induſtry-houſes at Ipſwich; and Cary's account of the management of the poor at Briſtol.

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their creditors, and partly for the ſupport of their families, if a law were enacted to puniſh the wilful idleneſs of inſolvent debtors; and to execute them as felons, if they ran away from their uſual place of reſidence and employment, before they had paid a reaſonable compoſition for their debts, in proper portions, from the fruits of their induſtry, or ingenuity.

THE confinement of vaſt numbers of uſeful hands in priſons for debt, is one of the moſt inhuman, unmanly and impolitic ſteps, that ever diſgraced a people aſſerting a ſpirit of liberty.

AN abſolute power is given, in a free country, to one individual, over the perſon of another: in England---the land of freedom!---if he ſinks under the weight of this arbitrary power---if he dies---no inquiſition is made for his blood. The king was not his creditor, yet he quietly acquieſces in the loſs of a ſubject, who might contribute to agriculture, population, manufactures, trade, navigation, or the defence of the ſtate.

UNDER many deſpotic governments (very near us) whoſe laws we affect to treat with contempt, but whoſe frivolous manners we idolize, no ſuch tyranny is permitted.

WE loudly boaſt that we hate, deteſt, abhor the idea of ſlavery!--- Yet is there a greater ſlave under the canopy of Heaven, than an Engliſh debtor lying in priſon (totally inſolvent) at the mercy of his creditor!

ALL civil governments founded for the happineſs of mankind, lay it down as a maxim---

THAT the intereſt, convenience, and often, even the eaſe of individuals, muſt be ſacrificed to the public good: admit this principle; and then, tell me, how the Britiſh government can allow the locking up ſo many uſeful members of ſociety yearly, for debt.

I TAKE up this ſubject in a political and commercial light; but as I am ſenſible numbers will object that credit would be at a ſtand, and the courſe of trade impeded, if debtors were not puniſhable for failures--- I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that, there are various modes and degrees of puniſhment, which ſhould always be proportioned (in affairs of property).

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property) to the injury done to individuals; but ſociety ſhould have a power of reclaiming its public ſhare of the perſon of every one of its members; no puniſhment therefore, to be inflicted by an individual, for an injury (not made a capital crime by law) ſhould extend to depriving the ſtate of the utility of a ſubject.

6. THEY would moſt ſtrenuouſly recommend an alteration in our criminal laws, more favourable to humanity and to the intereſts of a trading nation than thoſe now ſubſiſting, which are a diſgrace to the Britiſh conſtitution and government.

THE taking away ſo many lives by public executions, is highly impolitic, if not unjuſtifiable---Where robberies are attended with horrid circumſtances, ſuch as breaking open inhabited houſes in the dead of night, and ſpreading terror and alarm through a family, to the endangering of life; the puniſhment ought to be capital. But in caſes of ſimple theft and robbery, I humbly apprehend, that neither a government, profeſſing the Chriſtian religion, nor individuals are juſtifiable in taking away the life of a fellow creature, who might live to make reſtitution to the injured party (which, when property is invaded, is the utmoſt we have a right to require) and to become a uſeful reformed member of the community.

IT is with reluctance I obſerve in this place, that the falſe notions which prevail in England with reſpect to LIBERTY and SLAVERY prevent a number of ſalutary improvements in the police of the ſtate. No miniſter can be found hardy enough to propoſe any important alterations in our laws, which wear an unpopular aſpect, though the preſervation of the lives of the common people ſhould be the beneficial object of ſuch changes. The ſame populace, that will make an holiday and a matter of paſtime of an execution at Tyburn, would exclaim, that we had loſt our liberty and were ſold to ſlavery, if they were to ſee a number of felons condemned to labour on the highways, or in our mines, or in digging navigable canals with large clogs or fetters to their legs, for three, four or ſeven years, according to their crimes. It has been propoſed to government; and I imagine, has failed of being adopted,

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adopted, from the cauſe juſt mentioned *. Yet certainly this would be a more humane and politic puniſhment, than that of death or tranſportation.

We know that ſhame has often a more powerful effect on the human mind, than fear; and I am apt to think, that the public expoſure of criminals, in the quality of ſlaves, for any given number of years, would be a more inſtructive example to perſons wickedly inclined, than fifty executions; and as to the criminals themſelves, there can be no doubt of their being reformed by ſuch a long public expoſure to the eyes of their honeſt countrymen.

7. They would adviſe a law to be enacted, without loſs of time, for the eſtabliſhment of marine ſocieties, in every capital town and ſea-port in England, not only for the reception of boys, who after having been idle, profligate, abandoned wretches, take to the ſea-faring life as their laſt reſource; but for maintaining and educating a certain number from early youth for the ſea-ſervice; as well knowing that the ſtrength of the Britiſh empire depends on having a ſufficient quantity of able ſeamen always ready to man our fleets, and to navigate merchant-ſhips, without having recourſe to that ſavage cuſtom of preſſing ſeamen; a cuſtom which renders us unworthy of the character of a civilized nation.

And in order that the boys might join practice to theory, they would recommend the encouragement of fiſheries on our coaſts to the utmoſt extent.

* Our general notions of the galleys abroad, are wrong; in ſome parts, felons are (literally ſpeaking) chained down to oars on board of galleys; but in ſeveral others, the term has been engrafted into their criminal ſentences, without any reference to the literal meaning of it. In Flanders, to ſentence a man to the galleys for a number of years, is to put a heavy log of oak to one of his legs, faſtened above the ancle, by an iron fetter, obliging him to work on the highways, or at any laborious employment the magiſtracy of the place ſhall order; and at night making him repair to the priſon of the town, for no perſon will harbour a felon ſo ſituated. At the expiration of their time, they often become good, induſtrious, labouring ſervants, in diſtant parts of the ſame country; for this method ſeldom fails to make them true penitents; whereas our priſons, tranſport-veſſels, and plantations, harden them in their vicious courſes, and few eſcape the gallows in the long run.

8. To

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8. To theſe chambers of commerce ſhould be referred all memorials of our miniſters and conſuls abroad, concerning the decline of any branches of commerce carried on from the reſpective ports in the diſtrict of each chamber, to any foreign countries where ſuch officers reſide.

I WILL illuſtrate this propoſition by an example. In 1764, while I had the honour to ſerve the King in the character of Vice-conſul for Flanders, the Flemiſh government ſuddenly laid a very high additional duty on brute ſalt, which greatly affected the navigation and commerce of the people of Liverpool to the port of Oſtend. If a chamber of commerce had at this time ſubſiſted at Liverpool, the memorial I ſent home upon that ſubject ſhould have been tranſmitted directly to ſuch chamber of commerce, inſtead of going to the Secretary of State's office, where its fate was to be neglected, in the multiplicity of more important buſineſs, or to be ſent to our preſent flimſy board of trade, to be laid on the ſhelf *.

FROM the conſideration of this ſubject, I am naturally led to that of treaties of commerce with foreign powers. Theſe we have ſuffered to be violated in the moſt ſhameful manner by every petty ſtate with whom we have formerly had the moſt beneficial commercial connections; and it is pleaded in excuſe, that we have thrown commerce into a new channel, and have as much as we can manage with our colonies. Yet if we allow, as we certainly muſt, the expediency of appointing public officers to reſide at the ſea-ports, and in the capitals of foreign countries to which we carry on any branch of commerce, we ought to ſupport them properly in the execution of the duties of their reſpective offices †.

A SOVEREIGN

* The Daniſh conſul at Oſtend is ordered, by his inſtructions, to correſpond with the grand chamber of commerce at Copenhagen upon ſuch occaſions.

† IN this reſpect the French greatly ſurpaſs us.—They take care to contend for the minuteſt privileges and immunities accorded to their trading ſubjects, reſiding in foreign countries—(whether founded on poſitive treaties, or on ancient cuſtom, or permiſſion).—They

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A SOVEREIGN dominion, by which I underſtand a nation of the firſt rank not dependant on, or tributary to another, may make alterations in the internal adminiſtration of their commercial concerns, which indirectly violate their commercial treaties with other nations; and againſt ſuch changes (in a ſovereign ſtate) we have no right to complain, or remonſtrate, much leſs to go to war.

EVERY ſovereign ſtate has a right to employ its ſubjects in the manner it conceives to be moſt for the public benefit. Thus, for inſtance, ſhould the Portugueſe eſtabliſh a woollen manufactory, and therefore prohibit the importation of a ſingle yard of Engliſh cloth, we might make uſe of every rational, of every political argument in the courſe of a miniſterial negociation upon the ſubject; but after all, by the law of nations, we could have no right to declare war againſt them upon this account: all we could do, would be to retaliate, by prohibiting their wines.

BUT the caſe is far otherwiſe with reſpect to ſtates of the ſecond rank, who have no ſovereign authority either as monarchies, or republics, but are only dependencies on ſome principal head to which they belong. This is the political ſituation of the Auſtrian Netherlands, part of the hereditary dominions of the Empreſs dowager of Germany, the once celebrated queen of Hungary, whoſe picture was raffled for in every capital town in England; who in the war of 1744 was reduced, as ſhe emphatically expreſſed it, "to the hazard of not having a town left to lye in;" ſo cloſely was ſhe purſued by her enemies the victorious FRENCH and PRUSSIANS. Under thoſe circumſtances, when

They take care likewiſe, to protect all their commercial officers, from their conſuls down to their courtiérs royales, or licenſed brokers; and that their perſons and characters may be duly reſpected;—they often reſent (in a national manner) the ſlighteſt affronts put upon them, in the execution of their office.—The ſpirited ſatisfaction they lately demanded and obtained of the Bey of Tunis, ſhews the genius of the French government in this reſpect.—Our's, on the contrary, often reject, or treat as trifling, the repreſentations of their miniſters and conſuls; of the infractions of commercial treaties, and oppreſſions of our trading ſubjects—and ſometimes, diſmiſs them for diligence, activity and public ſpirit, if they give too much trouble at home.

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the Auſtrian Netherlands were on the point of falling into the hands of the French, and of being irrecoverably loſt to the houſe of Auſtria, when ſhe implored the ſuccour of the ENGLISH and the DUTCH, to ſave theſe rich provinces. Accordingly, with the aid of millions of Engliſh treaſure, and the blood of many thouſands of our veteran troops, and the further ſupport of a Dutch army, theſe provinces were preſerved to this ungrateful woman.

THE expreſs condition on which theſe ſuccours were granted was, that the Engliſh and Dutch ſhould enjoy the commercial advantages of the barrier treaty of 1715, by which a tariff was ſettled ſo very beneficial to the commerce of the Engliſh and Dutch, on account of the low duties on their merchandize, that both nations carried on a moſt profitable trade to the port of Oſtend. But in one year after the peace of Aix-la-Chappelle, *viz.* in 1749, when her huſband was become emperor of Germany, and all her affairs were ſettled to her ſatisfaction, the Flemiſh council of finances at Bruſſels began their violations of the barrier-treaty, by impoſing very high duties on our woollen manufactures, and they have ever ſince that period been undermining our valuable commerce to that country; but what is ſtill worſe, they have eſtabliſhed woollen manufactories all over Flanders, and will be enabled, in a few years, to rival us at all foreign markets; and let it be remembered, that they were the originals in the woollen manufactures, from whom we copied.

NOTHING ſurely can equal the weak and timid conduct of our government, in ſuffering this petty ſtate to become once more a manufacturing people: under the ſtipulations which induced the Engliſh and the Dutch to preſerve it to the queen of Hungary; they have always had a clear indiſputable right to inforce their commercial rights by the ſword, if they obſtinately perſiſted to violate them. Inſtead of which, we have tamely ſuffered them to take ſhelter under the wings of France; the ſame bigotted woman having made an unnatural alliance with that court; and in the next war we have with the French, we ſhall ſee a ſecret article in the treaty of amity and of marriage alliance between the courts of Verſailles and Vienna, operate the

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the moſt detrimental effects to Great Britain. The Auſtrian Netherlands will be ceded to France, as a free gift to the Dauphineſs; and the imminent danger to our commerce, of having theſe provinces in the hands of the French, was demonſtrated to our parliament as far back as the year 1743.

BUT in proportion as our commerce in Europe declines, ſo muſt our political influence, with the European powers; a circumſtance greatly againſt us, and in favour of France: as therefore we have given the preference to our American commerce, (which was certainly right, but ought not to have induced us to neglect ſuch beneficial concerns as that of our trade to Flanders, the balance of which is entirely in our favour) it is neceſſary to be the more on our guard againſt the political combinations of the powers of Europe, who will naturally be allied to thoſe nations that favour their commerce.

A FORMIDABLE maritime force, ever ready to protect our commerce by ſea, in all quarters of the globe, is therefore indiſpenſably neceſſary; and it is the duty of the rulers of this commercial kingdom to keep ſuch a force always fit for immediate ſervice.

BUT in order to this, experienced merchants ſhould be members of the privy-council; and men of great abilities, who have filled miniſterial and commercial departments in foreign ſtations, ſuch as ambaſſadors and conſuls, ſhould be made ſecretaries of ſtate, eſpecially for the colonies. Then we might expect to ſee ſound, permanent, honourable treaties and conventions, made with foreign powers; and our colonies governed upon the true principles of the Britiſh conſtitution.

THE laſt grand regulation I ſhall mention, which might be introduced into trade by an act of the legiſlature, is, To render book-debts at home, and in our colonies, transferable in as eaſy and as expeditious a manner, as Bank-annuities. The hint is taken from Sir Joſiah Child; and the practical demonſtration of its good effects from the ſtates of Venice, Genoa and Holland, where the transfer of book-debts is in common uſe and general eſteem.

CHILD'S plan for this purpoſe is very intricate; mine is quite ſimple: but it will be proper (before I make it known) to take the

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opinion of the trading body of the nation on the principle itſelf---if no objections are made to it, (after my having advanced it in this public manner as a propoſition highly beneficial) I pledge myſelf to produce it, for the benefit of my fellow-citizens, without fee or reward.

I HUMBLY offer, in ſupport of the propoſition, the following obſervations:

WHOEVER conſiders ſeriouſly the ſtate of commercial credit, will allow, that many a failure happens in this kingdom, owing to a laudable emulation.---Men over-trade themſelves---perhaps the nation, as a commercial body, has ſet the example. For want of remittances from diſtant countries, a failure enſues---the merchant's effects are ſeized---ſold at an under-value---charged with exorbitant law-expences: the creditors are diſſatisfied; the unhappy man is ruined: I am ſorry to add---perhaps ſome competitor, with an over-grown capital, has cruſhed him---perhaps he has intereſted himſelf in the management of his affairs, in the capacity of a creditor, to prevent his ever becoming his rival again in that part of the world. I have ſuch a tranſaction in my eye, but the parties (two brothers) are dead, and *requieſcant in pace.*

Now let us for a moment only ſuppoſe, that book-debts were as eaſily transferred, as Bank-annuities; would not this be a noble relief to the merchants, factors and manufacturers, who are great exporters, and are obliged to wait the tardy remittances of their correſpondents, in remote regions; might it not very often preſerve the credit of a great trader, who otherwiſe is loſt, by ſtopping payment, though that circumſtance ariſes from a ſiniſter unforeſeen event, ſuch as the loſs of an homeward bound ſhip, the failure of correſpondents, and various other adventitious misfortunes in traffic.

As to our inland trade, it would be ſtill more advantageous--ſharpers and ſpendthrifts would be extremely cautious how they got into tradeſmen's books, if they were uncertain to whom their debts might be aſſigned, and knew, that the demands on them being made to circulate like bank-notes, muſt be regularly diſcharged, at the expiration of the term of credit agreed on.

No

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No poor, dependant, tradeſman or mechanic, need then be afraid to preſent his bill (after two, three or four years credit) to ſome inſolent, high-born debauchee; and receive a rude repulſe, attended with menaces!

It being a general cuſtom to transfer book-debts, when the demands of the wholeſale dealer came upon the retailer, or the wants of his family obliged him to alienate a debt, no exceptions could be made, no umbrage taken, at a univerſal practice!

Private credit (ſo greatly detrimented by the public credit of the funds) would by this meaſure be reſtored with ſecurity---and if any objection is admiſſable, it muſt be to the execution, not to the plan itſelf---and it can only be deemed impracticable, on account of the preſent ſtate of our finances.---Great ſums of money would be employed to the uſeful purpoſes of relieving and ſupporting the mercantile world, which would otherwiſe be left in the funds, and ſtocks of courſe muſt fall---for money advanced in this way, would bear five *per cent.* intereſt.

Permit me to add a few words in behalf of the poor.

A well regulated ſyſtem of police with reſpect to the poor, is much wanting.

No leſs a ſum than 2,500,000 £. is annually collected for the relief of the poor; yet the poor are neither maintained, nor properly employed. In the ſtreets of our metropolis they ſwarm, and are a public reproach to the legiſlation of the kingdom, and to the magiſtracy of the capital. At five miles from London, they are continually robbing out-houſes and gardens; and at lone houſes, where there are no men-ſervants to oppoſe them, they are inſulting to a degree, which ſtrikes terror and aſtoniſhment.

The following are the principal cauſes of this growing evil.

1. The low-bred, intereſted inhabitants of moſt pariſhes, are ſelect veſtry-men, and have the lead in pariſh affairs.

2. Moſt men (in this free country) conſult their own eaſe; and will not be put to any ill-conveniences, to ſerve the public, if their purſes will excuſe them: thus the inferior, magiſterial offices, which regard the

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the peace and good order of ſociety, are turned over to deputies taken from the lees of the people; and liable to act in conſort with, inſtead of vigorouſly executing the laws againſt vagrants.

THE office of conſtable particularly, ſhould always be in the hands of a well educated, ſober, ſubſtantial citizen---in this caſe, they would be a check on the ignorance, inſolence and venality of trading juſtices. According to Dalton, c. 28, "He ought to be of the abler ſort of "pariſhioners; and if a very ignorant, or poor perſon be choſen, he "may, by law, be diſcharged, and an abler perſon placed in his "room."---A nocturnal viſit to any of our watch-houſes will convince the curious obſerver, that drunken beadles of pariſhes, who make a practice of ſerving the office, for the abler well informed opulent pariſhioners, are not the proper officers the law intended to entruſt with the peace and ſecurity of ſociety.

Is it ſufficient for an overſeer to give vagrants two or three ſhillings; or for a juſtice to ſign a paſs?---Should not care be taken to puniſh them, if they do not proſecute their journies to the reſpective places where they belong?

SHOULD not they be ſent (under the care of a proper officer) to the public hoſpitals, to be examined by the ſurgeons, as to the condition of their bodies, that neither improper ſpectacles may be preſented to the eyes of pregnant women in our ſtreets, nor the humane be impoſed on by artifice---in a word, that they may be enforced to honeſt induſtry, if they are found to be healthy and able?

What is it cauſes a want of hands, and evident ſigns of depopulation in many country places, while, in time of peace, the capital ſwarms with beggars and thieves? What! but a total neglect of thoſe ſalutary laws, which were made for the puniſhment of idleneſs and debauchery; and our ill-judged prejudices, in favour of all Engliſh inſtitutions and regulations, to the utter rejection of every wiſe ſyſtem of police in neighbouring commercial countries.

So various have been the remedies propoſed on this head, which have all failed of ſucceſs, that I ſhall not add to them, becauſe I am aware, that the increaſe of the public revenues depending on the conſumption

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ſumption of exciſeable liquors, is a manifeſt cauſe, of conniving at the profligacy, idleneſs and intemperance of the lower claſſes of the people, in, and near our capital towns.

If it ſhall appear to any gentleman, that I have omitted any thing material relative to the principles of commerce, which is not taken up in the ſucceeding treatiſe on the Elements of POLITICS and FINANCES, or that I have been guilty of any miſrepreſentations of my ſubject, I ſhall eſteem it as a favour to be better informed---and muſt now beg leave to conclude, nearly in the words of Mr. Thomas Mun, formerly a merchant of London, whoſe treatiſe, entitled, England's Treaſure by Foreign Trade, was firſt publiſhed in 1664.

"The balance of our foreign trade, is the rule of our treaſure"---there cannot therefore be a more beneficial ſtudy in this country, than the commercial art---by ſkill in which, we may continually increaſe this balance "now conſiderably in our favour."

CONCLUSION.

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CONCLUSION.

SKETCH OF THE EDUCATION, ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND CHARACTER OF A BRITISH MERCHANT.

THE antiquity of the free profeſſion of a merchant may juſtly entitle it to claim precedency to nobility of birth, and all hereditary or created dignities conferred on men, by emperors or kings; for there were eminent merchants in the world long before there were any nobles, or titled gentry. But, in the early ages of commerce, the rank and profeſſion of a merchant was neither ſo well underſtood, nor ſo clearly diſtinguiſhed from that of ſimple inland traders, or ſhop-keepers, as it has been in modern times.

AT preſent, to uſe the elegant expreſſion of a celebrated commercial writer, the merchant is happily called, "The ſteward of the king-"dom's ſtock, by way of commerce with other nations*." *None therefore, in Great Britain, can properly be ſtiled merchants, but ſuch as export her native products and manufactures to foreign climes, or import the commodities of different countries into this realm.* To this general acceptation of the word Merchant, I ſhall ſtrictly adhere, that we may not confound the rank and character of the Britiſh

* See Mun's Engliſh Treaſure by Foreign Trade.

merchant

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merchant with that of a wholeſale dealer, or trader; an error which we may be eaſily led into, if we conſult the common directories, and other printed liſts of our citizens, whoſe idle vanity often prompts them to pay ſome venal printer, a ſmall annual gratification, to be placed in the firſt claſs of citizens, when their actual ſituation in life intitles them only to the ſecond, perhaps not even to that *. And it is the more neceſſary in this place to mention this diſtinction, becauſe the education required to accompliſh the Britiſh merchant, is by no means neceſſary for the ſecond claſs of citizens: wholeſale traders.

THE firſt care of parents and guardians, who deſign to bring up a youth to be a Britiſh merchant, ſhould be, to inſtil into his tender mind the ſoundeſt principles of religion and morality, and a ſacred veneration for truth; probity ſhould be the baſis of all his juvenile actions; nor ſhould he, in his ſports and paſtimes, ever be ſuffered to forfeit his word, or evade his promiſe.

THE early cultivation of his native language is indiſpenſably neceſſary, and to be preferred to the ſtudy of the dead languages. Parents cannot be guilty of a greater folly than to make lads threſh hard at Latin and Greek for ten or twelve years together †, when perhaps they will not have occaſion, twice in their lives to ſpeak, read, or write, either of theſe languages. But the misfortune is, that after a waſte of ſo much time and money, we often ſee pedantic blockheads come from our famous ſchools and univerſities, unqualified for any other profeſſions but thoſe of divinity, law, and phyſic, becauſe they have never learned to ſpeak, read, or write their native tongue with propriety, taſte, and elegance. Conſidering the brevity of human life, and how early moſt men appear on the great theatre of the world, it is really amazing, that even four or five years ſhould be allotted to Latin and Greek, which might be ſo much more beneficially employed, by nine boys out of ten, in acquiring a perfect knowledge of their own copious language, by means of which alone, without any other aid, they might know as

* See Kent's Annual Directory.

† See Mr. Locke, and the Spectators, on Education.

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much of ancient learning as is neceſſary to gratify curioſity, or likely to be generally uſeful; for all the beſt ancient authors are tranſlated into Engliſh; and as to the arts and ſciences, the knowledge of them may be acquired by him, who thoroughly underſtands his maternal tongue, without ſtudying any other, ancient or modern.

It is indeed an opinion blindly received, and ſwallowed down from age to age, without examination, "that Latin is neceſſary to acquire "the arts and ſciences."

"There is, however, no more connection between Latin and ſcience, nor between Latin and any one art, than between Engliſh and the ſame art. Will a man who underſtands Latin run, or wreſtle, or dance, or fence, better than if he knew but Engliſh? Will a clock-maker, who knows Latin, finiſh his work with greater accuracy? Will a commander, who has learned Latin, navigate a veſſel to the Eaſt or Weſt Indies better than one, who ſpeaks Engliſh, French, Dutch, or Spaniſh?"

"The knowledge of things, is acquired by thought and attentive obſervation; and of arts, by practice and experience; and it makes no difference in whatever language either of them is learned or expreſſed. The finer arts, muſic, painting, and architecture, might have been invented at firſt juſt as well by one who thought and ſpoke in Engliſh, as by one who thought and ſpoke in Greek or in Latin. They, as well as other arts and ſciences, can be taught to greater advantage in Engliſh, than in either of the other two."

"All the great diſcoveries in natural philoſophy, the true ſyſtem of aſtronomy, the theory of gravitation, the various improvements in optics and mechanics, are the productions of modern times *."

The ſenſible part of Great Britain therefore, who have turned their thoughts upon right education, eſpecially ſuch as have written upon it, are univerſally of opinion, that it is much wiſer to ſet youth upon a courſe of education, every part of which is eaſily attainable, and of real uſe in public life, than to torture them with the dead languages.

* See A Plan of an Engliſh Grammar-ſchool Education, by James Buchanan. London, printed for E. and C. Dilly, 1770.

And

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And as to a merchant, it is evident he may be perfectly accompliſhed without the knowledge of them; but if he thinks proper to ſtudy them, let it be at his leiſure hours, after he has made himſelf maſter of every branch of knowledge requiſite for his profeſſion. Should he find himſelf, by ſucceſs in commerce, and the favour of his countrymen, likely to become a ſenator, it will then be time enough for him to ſit down and read the Latin proſe authors; and having already attained the elements of languages, he will make more progreſs in ſix months, than a boy at ſchool in ſix years, and fully ſufficient to enable him to ornament his ſpeeches with ſtrokes of ancient eloquence, or even to introduce an appoſite quotation from the Latin authors. But, as a further proof, that even this knowledge of the Latin tongue is not indiſpenſably neceſſary, we have only to review the houſe of commons in the preſent, or any paſt parliament, and we ſhall find, generally ſpeaking, the greateſt claſſical ſcholars, the beſt univerſity proficients, are the ſilent members, or uneloquent ſpeakers in that houſe.

Mr. SHERIDAN, in his plan of Britiſh education, obſerves what has been a general complaint, "That, inſtead of preparing each youth "for that ſphere of life in which he is afterwards to move, all are "trained in one and the ſame courſe, which fits them for no one "employment on earth. A ſmattering in two dead languages is all "that is to be gotten by the preſent method of education, the art of "wrangling, ſome ſmall knowledge in ſpeculative philoſophy, and "ſome crude notions of impenetrable metaphyſics *."

In fine, ſo neceſſary is it, in my idea, to undeceive parents and guardians on this ſubject of the education of youth, not deſigned for the three learned profeſſions of divinity, law, and phyſic, and yet ſo obſtinate are the pedantic and ſelf-intereſted, in recommending the old method of plodding on in Latin and Greek, that I have ſpared no pains to collate the beſt authorities in ſupport of my own judgment, and ſhall conclude the topic with the ſanction of one of the moſt learned, candid, and accompliſhed gentlemen of the age we

* See Britiſh Education, by Thomas Sheridan, A. M. London, printed for R. and J. Dodſley, Pall-mall.

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live in. His opinion muſt have double force, when it is conſidered, that though a perfect maſter of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, he has judged it neceſſary, for the benefit of his country, to ſit down and compoſe an eaſy, familiar introduction to the Engliſh tongue; and to recommend to all perſons concerned in the education of Britiſh youth, to make a grammatical knowledge of their maternal language, the baſis of the ſtudy of foreign languages.

" To enter at once upon the ſcience of grammar, and the ſtudy of " a foreign language," ſays this elegant writer, " is to encounter two " difficulties together, each of which would be much leſſened, by " being taken ſeparately, and in its proper order. A competent " grammatical knowledge of our own language is the true foundation " upon which all literature, properly ſo called, ſhould be raiſed. If " this method were adopted in our ſchools, children would have ſome " notion of what they are going about, when they ſhould enter into " the Latin grammar, and would hardly be engaged ſo many years as " they now are, in that moſt irkſome and difficult part of literature, " with ſo much labour of the memory, and with ſo little aſſiſtance of " the underſtanding." I ſhall only add another paſſage, as a corroborating proof, that a merchant may diſpenſe with the dead languages.

" The Engliſh language hath been much cultivated during the laſt " two hundred years. It hath been conſiderably poliſhed and refined, " its bounds have been greatly enlarged, its energy, variety, richneſs, " and elegance, have been abundantly proved by numberleſs trials, " in verſe and proſe, upon all ſubjects, and in every kind of ſtile*."

On the ſtrength of all theſe authorities I preſume to recommend a grammatical purſuit of the Engliſh language from the age of eight to twelve years, during which time, it is to be hoped, a youth, intended to be a merchant, will be able to read, write, and ſpeak with propriety, eaſe, and elegance, in his native tongue, more eſpecially if he has been in the hands of an able private preceptor. Vulgar arithmetic and

* See A ſhort Introduction to Engliſh Grammar, by Dr. Lowth, now biſhop of Oxford. London, printed for A. Millar, and T. Cadell, 1767.

writing

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writing may ſhare ſuch parts of theſe four years, as are neceſſary to enliven ſtudy by variety.

THE wholeſale dealer or ſhop-keeper's education may receive the addition of two years further application to writing, to the branch of arithmetic which teaches book-keeping, and to the attainment of the French language, which being almoſt univerſally current, may be uſeful to him in the common courſe of buſineſs, eſpecially as great numbers of foreigners, who converſe in French, uſually reſort to England, in time of peace. A lad thus qualified, is ready, at the age of fourteen, to be an indentured apprentice.

BUT he, who is deſigned for the comprehenſive profeſſion of a Britiſh merchant, muſt range through more extenſive fields of ſcience. After attaining a competent knowledge of the French language, he ſhould ſtudy the Spaniſh, which is uſed in almoſt all the eaſt, particularly on the coaſt of Africa, from the Canaries to the cape of Good Hope; the Italian, in uſe on all the coaſts of the Mediterranean, and in many parts of the Levant; and the Teutonic, or German, which is common in almoſt all the northern countries of the globe.

THE elements of general hiſtory, and a thorough knowledge of the chronological, political, and commercial hiſtory of his own country, ſhould be his next concern. With theſe, and the principles of geography and navigation, we may allow him to enlarge and improve his underſtanding, till he attains the ſixteenth year.

THE nature of the conſular juriſdiction, and of the laws, manners, and cuſtoms of the countries with which Great Britain carries on any conſiderable commerce, ſhould now occupy part of his attention; and the ſeveral commercial inſtitutions, with the uſe of banks, of bills of exchange, and the rules of circulation, another portion of his time.

HE ought to inform himſelf accurately in what commodities each trading country abounds, what are the merchandize they demand from other countries, and from what places they receive them.

THE cuſtoms, tolls, taxes, exciſes, convoys, and all other charges upon merchandize exported from, or imported into his own and all foreign countries, ſhould be another principal object for the young

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merchant. The prohibitions laid on various commodities in different nations, he ſhould thoroughly acquaint himſelf with. The meaſures, weights and coins of all countries, ſhould be familiar to him.

He ſhould be taught to know on what conditions to freight and inſure ſhips and merchandize; he ſhould alſo be enabled to form a tolerable judgment of the prices of the ſeveral articles uſed for the building or repairing of ſhips; and alſo of the manner of contracting for naval ſtores and proviſions, with the ordinary rates of the wages of mariners.

He ought to acquire great expertneſs in the mode of tranſacting buſineſs at the Cuſtom-houſe, and on the quays of the ports of his own country; and, in order to this, I ſhould imagine, no better expedient could be deviſed, than to obtain leave for young gentlemen, (educating for merchants) to practiſe under the principal agents for the Cuſtom-houſe buſineſs; or to be received as aſſiſtants to the clerks at the Long-room, and in the cuſtom-houſes of the out-ports, without fee or reward. Our young merchants being thus initiated, we ſhould hereafter ſee all thoſe difficulties and perplexities removed, which at preſent ariſe from blundering entries, or the over-hurry of the clerks; and theſe pupils would be a check upon the mal-practices of the inferior officers.

Having now brought on our youth to about the eighteenth year, if he has been introduced into a compting-houſe at home, and has been ſhewn the general manner of correſpondence with foreign merchants, it will be adviſeable to finiſh his education, by ſending him for two or three years more on his travels, recommending him at each place where he is to reſide a few months, to ſome conſiderable merchant, who ſhould be adviſed to receive him without form or ceremony, on the footing of one of his family; and, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the neceſſary ſecrecy of commercial tranſactions, to let him aſſiſt in his accompting-houſe, and in his warehouſes.

By theſe means, at the age of majority, or perhaps one year later, he will return completely accompliſhed to appear on the Royal Exchange of London, with honour and credit to his friends, and true ſatisfaction to himſelf; in the reſpectable character of a Britiſh merchant.

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SHOULD he then ſucceed to the houſe of his anceſtors, or be aſſociated with that, or any other capital company, he will be an acquiſition to it of ineſtimable value; while thoſe who are educated in this diſſipated metropolis, and comment on the laws of commerce at coffee-houſes or taverns, at Mrs. Cornelys's, at the New Ranelagh, or in the environs of Covent Garden; exhauſt the funds of their fathers, ruin themſelves and their partners, and ſink down into the tomb of contempt, or oblivion, before they have half finiſhed their mortal career.

A FIRM attachment to the true principles of honour, a religious adherence to his word, clearneſs and integrity in his contracts, prudent generoſity in his dealings with the induſtrious poor, with a becoming dignity and moral rectitude in his manners, joined to the accompliſhments we have recommended, muſt pave the way to affluence; if moſt extraordinary misfortunes, ſuch as ſeldom occur in life, do not prevent it; and opulence will afford the means to ſupport thoſe dignities in the ſtate, which public eſteem will not fail to confer, in this free country, on ſuch exalted characters. Our young merchant therefore, ſhould keep the honours of magiſtracy, and the important charge of a Britiſh legiſlator, the repreſentative of a free people, conſtantly in his eye. Theſe ſhould be his CIVIC crowns; and if he can nobly reſolve to ſacrifice private eaſe and indulgence to the public good, being ſeated in the Houſe of Commons, let him there boldly ſtand forth the intrepid advocate for the free conſtitution of his country, even in the worſt of times. If merit of this caſt recommends him to his ſovereign, let him aſpire to foreign embaſſies, to miniſterial charges in foreign countries, for which he will be ſo well qualified; and after having rendered his country ſignal ſervice, by protecting its rights and privileges abroad; if wiſdom and integrity ſteer the helm of government, he may expect to be choſen as aſſiſtant-pilot. But if corruption, like a general deluge, overflows his country, let him not quit his honourable ſeat in parliament; for there is his ſtation, a watchful centinel, to arreſt all traitors to the common-weal; of every denomination. And if, under theſe circumſtances, he deſerts his poſt for any honours the court can give; or ſeeks an inglorious retirement, to avoid the heat of the battle;

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battle, let him remember, that he is little better than the venal wretches, whom he has ſuffered to eſcape with impunity.

HAPPY would it be for this country, if we had more ſuch accompliſhed merchants as I have deſcribed in parliament, and in the great councils of the ſtate. Let this conſideration, therefore, excite our Britiſh youth, deſigned for this honourable profeſſion, to follow the plan of education here laid down.

IT is humbly ſubmitted to the parents, and guardians of youth, by the author, who wiſhes, if it has any defects, they may be pointed out by thoſe, who ſhall happen to differ from him in opinion, but if approved, he begs leave to obſerve, that he will chearfully undertake the firſt ſtages of it *, for any young gentleman, whoſe friends may think proper to make application to him for that purpoſe.

* THE Engliſh, French, and Italian languages, arithmetic, the elements of geography, navigation, hiſtory, univerſal commerce, policy and finances; agreeable to the advertiſement annexed to this work.

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THE

ELEMENTS

OF

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THE ELEMENTS OF POLITICS.

PART I.

I CANNOT open this ſubject more properly than by introducing the following remark of the late celebrated biſhop of Cloyne, moſt truly applicable to the preſent times. "The diſcourſes and pretenſions of "men throughout theſe kingdoms, would, at firſt view, lead us to "imagine, that all the inhabitants were politicians; and yet perhaps "political wiſdom (ſo generally profeſſed, and ſo much talked of) hath "not in any age or country been leſs underſtood. Licence is taken for "the end of government, and popular humour for its origin; no "reverence is ſhewn to the laws, no attachment to the conſtitution; "little attention to matters of the utmoſt importance, and great alter-"cations upon trifles; to which may be added, an impatience of rule, "and a contempt of anthority:" to complete this portrait of the times, a wrong definition of politics has been too generally received; and in all ſciences it is acknowledged, that it is better to be totally ignorant, than to form falſe conceptions.

POLITICS have been made to ſtand for ſuperior ſubtilty and guile; and to ſignify fraud and artifice; by means of which miſrepreſentations,

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wrong notions have been formed of miniſters and ſtateſmen; and it has been induſtriouſly propagated, that a perſon cannot be a good politician, without being an arrant villain, or an egregious knave: and thus government, which is ever ſacred, and probity, which is eſſential to it, are repreſented as incompatible things, that cannot ſubſiſt together.

THE early ſtudy of political wiſdom, is therefore eſſentially neceſſary for all who have the moſt diſtant proſpect of filling any office of confidential truſt and importance in the ſtate; and I ſhall endeavour, in the courſe of this treatiſe, to point out the utility of this ſtudy to every private individual of ſociety, who has the leaſt ſpark of the *amor patriæ* in his breaſt, or any property in the world, on which he ſets any real value: I ſhall alſo convince my readers, that of late years the ſubjects of Great Britain would have been much happier, and the adminiſtration of government much eaſier, if a falſe definition of political wiſdom had not too generally prevailed, both on the part of the rulers and the ruled, owing to our neglect in not making this important ſubject one great branch of the education of youth, more eſpecially of the ſons of the nobility, the gentry, and the merchants, or citizens of the firſt claſs. Inſtead of this, they are taken raw from ſchool, or the univerſity, and ſent abroad, before they have been made acquainted with the political conſtitutions of the foreign nations it is intended they ſhould viſit. Ignorant of the nature of the Britiſh conſtitution, uninformed of the means by which Great Britain has gradually riſen to that pre-eminence of power, riches and happineſs ſhe now enjoys, unrivalled by any other nation in the known world; they are either carried away by the external appearances of things abroad, and return with prejudices againſt their native country; or (on their firſt outſet in life) become the eaſy prey of party leaders; and, as ambition, perſonal vanity, family-connections, or ſelf-intereſt biaſs them, take part with, or oppoſe the ruling powers of the ſtate.

A LATE writer on education has very ſenſibly obſerved, "That one "of the principal points which ought to be kept in view by all le- "giſlative bodies, in every well regulated ſtate, is, the education of "young

"young gentlemen of noble birth and high rank; that their talents "may be ſo directed and improved, as to qualify them, by a due and "timely exertion of them, for the ſupport of that government of "which they are reſpectable members."

BUT the common modes of education purſued in England, are not, by any means, calculated to promote this ſalutary end: the qualifications neceſſary to render the nobleman, the gentleman, and the generous CITIZEN, moſt truly uſeful to their country, muſt be drawn from other ſources *.

THE theory of commerce we have already ſhewn to be ONE.---We are now to proceed to the ſcience of POLITICS, which is, of all others, the moſt uſeful to young gentlemen of rank and fortune in Great Britain.

THE Elements of Politics might have preceded thoſe of commerce, in point of order, ſince, though the origin of commerce, and of civil government, may be equally traced to the earlieſt records of time, yet civil governments muſt have been formed while commerce was only in its infancy. But two obvious reaſons determined me to give the lead to commerce.---In the firſt place, I found an inſuperable timidity prevailing in my mind, with reſpect to my preſent ſubject. It had been told me, that a moſt reſpectable ſtateſman (now living) † being aſked, when at the zenith of his glory, where he learned politics? replied, "He picked them up in the ſtreets."---Some aſſerted, that it was ſo idle, ſo vague, and ſo diſguſting a ſubject, that I ſhould never be able to fix the attention of either auditors or readers. On this account, it became neceſſary to explore the rich mines of commerce, and, as it were, (by an eaſy tranſition) to paſs on to the ſcience of politics, and demonſtrate, that the national and private advantages to be derived from the former, could only be acquired by a diligent ſtudy of the latter. My next motive (to this arrangement of the two ſubjects) aroſe from a review of the ſtate of modern nations; many of them owing their particular ſyſtems of polity, to commerce.---Such, among others, are,

* Sheridan.

† The Earl of Chatham.

the

the ſtates of Venice, Genoa and Holland, whoſe political inſtitutes are founded on commercial maxims.

THIS diſpoſition of my plan has anſwered my warmeſt expectations, in the favourable reception of my public lectures on commerce.

HAVING ſhewn to what a degree of power, riches and felicity, a ſtate, and individuals, may arrive, by means of commerce; we are naturally induced to ſearch after the beſt political tenets; by which it is to be ſecured and ſupported.

WE have already noticed the origin of civil ſociety, under the head of commerce; but we muſt now treat this ſubject more amply.

ALL authors, both antient and modern, who have written on the eſtabliſhment and government of nations, however widely they have differed in their ſentiments, concerning the beſt ſyſtems of adminiſtration, have been unanimous in their opinion, "That without a due obſervance of "certain, invariable principles of ſound policy, which in their very "nature are incontrovertible, it would have been impoſſible ever to have "brought mankind together in ſociety, or to have eſtabliſhed that har-"mony and union amongſt them, which was indiſpenſably neceſſary "to render their aſſociations for their common benefit, peaceful and "permanent."

I SHALL not preſume to waſte your time, by diſplaying a pedantic parade of erudition; it is ſufficient that at the bottom of the page, I have noted the antient authors on whoſe authority I have founded what I have juſt mentioned on the obvious neceſſity of adhering to certain political principles *.---What thoſe principles are, and from whence derived, muſt be our next ſubject of enquiry.

BUT before I proceed, it may not be improper to give a few clear, conciſe definitions of the terms of the ſcience we have now under conſideration.

THE ſcience of POLITICS may be defined to conſiſt in a ſkilful management of the public affairs of nations: in other words, it is a ſcience

* PLATO, lib 6. de legibus. Ariſtot. de republic, lib. 6. c. 8. de moribus, l. 5 & 10. de Rethoric. l. 1. c. 13. Seneca de Benef. lib. 4. c. 48. Cicero, lib. 1. c. 4. de legibus. Gregorius Tholoſanus de Repub. lib. 1.

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which comprizes all thoſe rules and meaſures of human actions, which lead to true happineſs: and its end is, the acquiring perfect ſkill in the management of the public affairs of nations, ſo as to provide for their ſafety and tranquility, and to maintain good order and ſound manners †.

POLITY is a more limited term, by which we define the form of government of any particular ſociety: it means the civil conſtitution of any particular ſtate, or capital city; and when its object is the internal adminiſtration of the latter, it is ſtiled, by the French writers, *la police*, the police; a term newly engrafted into our language, to expreſs every thing relative to the duties of the civil magiſtracy, under the head of preſerving the public peace, by protecting thoſe who obey the laws, and puniſhing thoſe who violate them.

"POLITY conſiſts in the attention of the prince and magiſtrates to "preſerve every thing in order. Wiſe regulations ought to preſcribe "whatever will beſt contribute to the public ſafety, utility and con- "venience; and thoſe who have the authority in their hands, cannot "be too attentive to their being obſerved. By a wiſe POLITY, the "ſovereign accuſtoms the people to order and obedience; and preſerves "peace, tranquility and concord, among the citizens. People have "attributed to the magiſtrates of Holland ſingular talents with reſpect "to POLITY; their towns, and even their eſtabliſhments in the Indies, "are generally better governed than any other places in the known "world."

POLITICAL ARITHMETIC is the application of arithmetical calcu- lations to political uſes; thereby ſtating the produce of the public re- venues of a nation---the number of its people---extent and value of its lands, commerce, inland trade and manufactures---on which a ſcrutiny into the nature of the taxes laid on the inhabitants is founded.

† WHETHER, indeed, politics may be properly termed the firſt philoſophy, it is needleſs to diſpute; but it will hardly be denied to have been one of the firſt cultivated ſciences. The moſt antient philoſophers were all converſant in it; and many of them famed as legiſlators. *Lord Bolingbroke's Letters to Mr. Pope.*

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THE term POLITICIAN is commonly made uſe of to define a STATESMAN; one perfectly ſkilled in politics---well verſed in the arts of government---and one, who either has been, or actually is employed in the management of the public affairs of nations. But we muſt not content ourſelves with this partial acceptation of the word; ſince it is plain, that every citizen, in a free ſtate, may, nay ought to be a POLITICIAN; and HE certainly ought to be ſo eſteemed, who, in the private walk of life, conducts himſelf according to the true principles of political wiſdom; and thereby, as far as in him lies, ſtudies and practiſes the art of government; and, in his particular ſtation, contributes to, or promotes, the ſafety, welfare, tranquility and good order of the civil ſociety of which he is a member.

THESE are the general terms, which I thought proper to explain---, to prevent all perplexity, in the purſuit of our ſubject.

WE will now return to our propoſed enquiry.---What are the fixed, invariable principles of ſound policy, according to the unanimous opinion of all legiſlators, and of every author, ancient and modern, on the ſubject, and from whence are they derived?

THE principles, or Elements of Policy are derived from three ſources.

I. THE divine, natural law; commonly called, The law of nature.

II. THE inſpired written law.

III. Civil CODES of human inſtitution.

THE divine law of nature, is ſo called, by all antient authors, becauſe they maintained; that the DEITY, when he created man, impreſſed on his mind, and engraved on his heart, clear and diſtinct notions of a law, that was to ſerve him as an invariable rule of action; that this paſt by tradition, from father to ſon, till at length it was denominated, common-right; or the law of nature. Moſt of the legiſlators of antiquity ſupported this opinion; and always made a diſtinction between the oral and written law.

THIS law of nature is founded on THREE principles.

I. RELIGION.

II. SELF-LOVE.

III. SOCIABILITY.

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THE ſole object of the firſt is, the duty that men owe to the Supreme Being.

PIETY, or religion generally conſidered, without regard to any particular theological ſyſtems, conſiſts in an acknowledgment of the dependant ſtate of mankind; in a firm belief that man owes his exiſtence and preſervation to a ſupreme, perfect, eternal Being; who is the firſt mover and cauſe of all things; who governs and directs this ſublunary world by the principles of unerring wiſdom; and who has a right to expect from us the homage of genuine gratitude for his conſtant protection, and for the faculties he has beſtowed on man, which give him the pre-eminence over all the works of the creation; in whatever kind of worſhip, or adoration, therefore, the debt of gratitude is paid; it is a duty dictated by the law of nature. A fear of offending or diſpleaſing him, which we can only do, by departing from any of thoſe principles of the law of nature, which reſpect our duty to him, to ourſelves, or to mankind; an entire ſubmiſſion to his will; and the pureſt ſentiments of love, reſpect and veneration, ariſing from the contemplation of his divine attributes, compriſe the duties enjoined by this firſt principle of the law of nature.

THE firſt duty of man, reſpecting himſelf, which ariſes out of the ſecond principle of the law of nature, SELF-LOVE, is, to form a juſt idea of his own nature; and of his paſſions, or affections.

THE ſecond duty, he owes himſelf is, to perſuade himſelf, that he holds his being from GOD, as a ſacred pledge for which he is accountable to HIM; conſequently, that he is obliged to uſe all poſſible means to preſerve that life; and by aſſiduous labour, mental or corporeal, to aid and improve his natural powers, ſo as to qualify them, to produce actions worthy the excellency of his nature! In other words, he is to think and act in ſuch a manner as he conceives to be moſt conformable to the divine will and perfections: as far as a finite being is capable of imitating the Deity, he is to make the attributes of the Creator his rule and model; from whence he will derive the practice of morality.

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BUT man, not being born for himſelf alone, but being appointed to live in ſociety with his own ſpecies, SOCIABILITY, which is the third principle of the law of nature, we ſhall plainly demonſtrate, was abſolutely neceſſary, for the comfort and convenience of life.

A GREAT number of authorities, from the moſt celebrated antient writers, might be brought to ſupport this important propoſition; but it is ſo ſelf-evident, that I ſhall content myſelf with citing two beautiful paſſages on this ſubject, the one from Seneca, and the other, from our countryman, Dr. Ferguſon, to whoſe excellent Eſſay on the Hiſtory of Civil Society, I ſhall frequently have occaſion to refer, in the courſe of this treatiſe.

SENECA, to prove the baſeneſs of ingratitude, makes uſe of the following moſt nervous and elegant reaſoning. "That nothing "diſturbs ſo much, the concord and union of mankind, as this vice; "for on what does our ſafety depend, if not on the mutual ſervices "we render to each other? Certainly, it is this commerce of benefits, "which alone renders life commodious, and puts us in a condition "to defend ourſelves againſt unforeſeen inſults and aſſaults. What "would be the condition of mankind, if each individual lived alone! "As many of the ſpecies as led this ſolitary life, ſo many booties or "victims would be prepared for other animals---a ſacrifice eaſy to be "made---in a word, weakneſs itſelf!

"IN fact, all other animals have ſtrength ſufficient for their "defence---Thoſe, that are quite ſavage, and whoſe ferocity will not "permit them to herd together in troops, are born, as we may ſay, "compleatly armed---whereas, MAN is, on every ſide, ſurrounded "with weakneſs---having neither nails nor teeth to render him "formidable---but theſe ſuccours, of which he is deſtitute by nature, "he finds in ſociety with his equals. Nature, to indemnify him, "has given him two things, which, from weak and miſerable as he "would have been without them, render him very ſtrong and very "powerful. I mean REASON and SOCIABILITY--ſo that he who, alone, "could not reſiſt any one, becomes, by this union, maſter of all. "Society gives him dominion over all other animals, not excepting

"even

" even thoſe of the ſea, which are produced and live in another ele-
" ment. It is the ſocial diſpoſition which ſtops the ravages of diſeaſes---
" furniſhes ſuccours to old age---aſſwages our griefs---gives us a claim
" to implore the aſſiſtance of others, againſt the accidents of fortune;
" and inſpires us with courage to ſupport them.--Take away ſociability,
" and you will deſtroy the union of mankind---on which depends---
" the preſervation and happineſs of life *."

" If both the earlieſt and the lateſt accounts, collected from every
" quarter of the earth, repreſent mankind as aſſembled in troops and
" companies; and the individual always joined by affection to one party,
" while he is poſſibly oppoſed to another; employed in the exerciſe of
" recollection and foreſight; inclined to communicate his own ſen-
" timents, and to be made acquainted with thoſe of others: theſe facts
" muſt be admitted as the foundation of all our reaſoning relative to
" man. His mixed diſpoſition to friendſhip or enmity, his reaſon, his
" uſe of language and articulate ſounds, like the ſhape and the erect
" poſition of his body, are to be conſidered as ſo many attributes of his
" nature: they are to be retained in his deſcription, as the wing and
" the paw are in that of the eagle and the lion; and as difference in
" degrees of fierceneſs, vigilance, timidity, or ſpeed, are made to
" occupy a place in the natural hiſtory of different animals †."

But it is not ſufficient to have diſcovered the origin, the neceſſity, and good effects of ſociety amongſt men; our ſubject requires, that we ſhould lay down the rules and obligations ariſing out of the general principles of the LAW of NATURE.

These may be reduced to four capital points.

1. Never to injure any man.

2. To do unto others, as we would wiſh they ſhould do unto us, negatively; not to make others ſuffer, what we cannot endure ourſelves.

3. If we have trangreſſed this rule of right, by injuring any one, in his perſon, his reputation, or his property, to repair it inceſſantly, to the utmoſt of our abilities.

* Seneca de Benef. l. 4. c. 18.

† Eſſay on the Hiſtory of Civil Society, by Adam Ferguſon, L. L. D. London, printed for T. Cadell, 1768.

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4. It is not ſufficient to abſtain from hurting others; we muſt do them all the good in our power.

Remark.---It may now be demanded, with great propriety, what inſtruction do we derive from this definition of the law of nature? My anſwer is---That from its three grand principles we learn---

1. That we cannot poſſibly be atheists.

2. That we muſt not be suicides.

3. That we have no right to be idlers.

4. That we did not come into the world to be hermits.

Farther reſearches into the ſtate of nature, would only lead us into diſcuſſions foreign to our ſubject; all the knowledge we want to deduce from antiquity, or the natural hiſtory of mankind, in their rude ſtate, before the impreſſions of property and intereſt took place, is, "That "every individual of the ſpecies, was, by nature, deſigned for a mem-"ber of community; and conſequently, conſidered in this capacity, "appears not to have been made for himſelf, but for ſociety;" and that the principles of natural law are founded upon the ſocial diſpoſition, which diſtinguiſhes the human race from that of all other animals.

We will now proceed to ſhew, that the law of nations, which originally cemented and united different ſocieties in one bond of common amity, has its origin in the principles of the law of nature.

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ON THE LAW OF NATIONS.

WE all know where it is written, "Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy "God with all thy heart, with all thy ſoul, and with all thy mind; "and thy neighbour as thyſelf.

"ON theſe two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

AND on theſe likewiſe, depend all the ſyſtems of ſound policy, in every well regulated ſociety on earth; for on theſe are founded,

THE LAW OF NATIONS, the next object of our conſideration.

THE law of nations, properly defined, is no more than a juſt and rational application of the law of nature, reſpecting individuals, to the public affairs and conduct of ſtates.

NATURAL law, ſays HOBBES, is divided into the natural law of man, and the natural law of ſtates; and the latter is what we call the law of nations *. The ſame definition is given by BURLAMAQUI the civilian, in other words. "Natural law, and the law of nations, are "in reality one and the ſame thing, and differ only by an external "denomination. We muſt therefore ſay, that the law of nations, "properly ſo called, and conſidered as a law proceeding from the "Deity, is nothing elſe but the law of nature itſelf; not applied to "men, conſidered ſimply as ſuch, but to nations, ſtates, or their "chiefs, in the relations they have together, and the ſeveral intereſts "they have to manage between each other †."

ONE would imagine this rational deduction of the origin of the law of nations, to be ſo obvious to the meaneſt capacity, that it could not

* Hobbes de Cive.

† Burlamaqui's Principles of Natural and Political Law, tranſlated by Dr. Nugent. London, printed for J. Nourſe, 1763.

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poſſibly have met with opponents; but what law ſo ſacred, what maxim ſo clear, that the faculties of men, under the influence of the paſſions of ambition or intereſt, will not attempt to obſcure, or to explain away the force of it, by unnatural interpretations!

Besides thoſe already cited, we have the authorities of JUSTINIAN, PUFENDORF, BARBEYRAC, WOLFE, MONTESQUIEU, VATEL, and others of leſs note, in our favour. But, as the conſequence of proving that the law of nations, is no more than the law of nature, reſpecting individuals, applied to the affairs of civil ſocieties, is, the eſtabliſhment of certain natural obligations on nations, which they cannot diſpenſe with, for the laws of nature are eternal and immutable; a ſet of modern writers have ſtarted up, who have endeavoured, becauſe they could not reconcile the conduct of modern powers to the juſt and equitable maxims of natural law, to maintain, that there is no ſuch thing as an immutable obligatory law of nations, founded on the law of nature.

To countenance the violations of the rights of human nature, which have been made with impunity by tyrants, their flatterers and ſycophants have had recourſe to an artful expedient, derived from falſe principles of policy. As political neceſſity, and reaſons of ſtate, are the rules of conduct, which ſovereigns and their miniſters have thought proper to ſubſtitute in the place of natural law, or the law of nations, it became neceſſary to give ſome colour to this alteration in the ſyſtems of civil governments; and therefore, the following doctrine has been warmly contended for by the enemies to the freedom and independance of mankind:

"That the law of nations is arbitrary, and only founded on expreſs, "or tacit conventions."

We are willing to give this political maxim its full force, when it is not meant to uphold tenets contradiſtinct from the immutable, indiſpenſable obligations of the law of nature; or to reduce the true law of nations, to the level of human inſtitutions: we ſhall readily allow, that there is a voluntary, cuſtomary law of nations, which may be juſtly termed ſubordinate to natural law; and we ſhall endeavour to mark out its juſt boundaries; but the policy of modern

nations

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nations having clearly demonſtrated that princes and miniſters of ſtate, have aimed at making void the obligatory rules of the true law of nations, by rendering the cuſtomary law ſuperior to that, which is derived from nature; thereby finding plauſible pretexts to act contrary to the common intereſts of mankind; or, which is the ſame thing, to the unalterable rules of ſincerity, juſtice and humanity; it will be neceſſary to prove,

FIRST, That the true law of nations, deduced from the principles of natural law, is obligatory in its own nature; and that all its neceſſary rules ought to be univerſally obſerved; becauſe the principles of ſociability are univerſal.

SECONDLY, That the cuſtomary law of nations, founded on caſual conſent, or on expreſs, or tacit conventions, cannot be obligatory any further, than as it is reconcileable to the principles of natural law.

THIRDLY, That ſovereigns, or ſtates, pretending to ground their political conduct on any cuſtomary, or arbitrary law, which deviates from the elements of natural law, if they thereby injure other nations, act upon tyrannic principles, and are to be conſidered as public criminals, who deſerve condign puniſhment as much, or more, in proportion to the miſchief they have done, than private individuals, who violate the laws of common right, or, in other words, the law of nature.

AFTER having diſcuſſed theſe points, that no miſtake may be pleaded by artful politicians, we ſhall give in their order, from the beſt authorities, thoſe eternal obligations contained in the true law of nations, which differ in no reſpect from the law of nature, and which, on that account, no rulers or people on the habitable globe, can diſpenſe with, or alter, even by common conſent, without tranſgreſſing their duty. In the next place, it ſhall be made appear that all human treaties and conventions ought to be conformable to theſe rules; and finally, the well known maxims of the cuſtomary law of nations, ſo far as they are reconcileable to the principles of common right, ſhall be clearly ſtated.

FROM the principle of SOCIABILITY we muſt prove our firſt poſition; for from that principle, as from their real ſource, all the laws of ſociety,

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ſociety, and all our general and particular duties towards other men are derived *.

This ſpirit of union, which the Supreme Being has implanted in the ſoul of man, requires, that in every thing relating to ſociety, the public good ſhould be the ſupreme rule of conduct; and that, guided by the counſels of prudence, men ſhould never purſue their private advantage to the prejudice of the public; for this is what the ſtate of mankind demands, and it is conſequently the will of our common Father.

The principle of ſociability is univerſal. Human ſociety embraces all thoſe with whom we can poſſibly have any communication; becauſe it is founded on the relations we all bear to one another, in conſequence of our nature and ſtate †.

Reason next informs us, that creatures of the ſame rank and ſpecies, born with the ſame faculties to live in ſociety, and to partake of the ſame advantages, have, in general, an equal and common right. We are therefore obliged to conſider ourſelves as naturally equal, and to behave as ſuch; and it would be bidding defiance to nature, and the God of nature, not to acknowledge this principle of equity, by the Civilians ſtiled, *æquabilitas juris*, as one of the firſt foundations of ſociety. On this principle is built the *lex talionis*; as alſo that ſimple, but univerſal and uſeful rule, "To do unto others as we would wiſh "they ſhould do unto us."

Sociability being a reciprocal obligation among men, ſuch as through malice, or injuſtice, break the band of ſociety, cannot reaſonably complain, if they are conſidered as common enemies to the natural rights of mankind, and are proceeded againſt, by forcible meaſures.

These general maxims are replete with conſequences, which eſtabliſh the immutability and univerſality of the obligations contained in the natural law of nations. For if the Deity, by means of right reaſon, enjoins certain duties between individuals, it follows, that

* Burlamaqui's Principles of Natural Law.

† Pufendorf's Law of Nature and Nations.

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nations, which are only large ſocieties of individuals, ſhould be bound to the ſame reciprocal duties to each other.

But this will appear more evident, when we conſider, that though the various ſyſtems of government eſtabliſhed among mankind, introduced a great change in the ſtate of nature, yet it was never the intention of any honeſt or wiſe legiſlators to ſubvert it entirely, or to deſtroy the eſſential relations between man and man, or between God and man. On the contrary, the civil ſtate ſuppoſes the nature of man to be ſuch as the Creator has formed it; it ſuppoſes the primitive ſtate of union, with all the relations it includes; it ſuppoſes, in fine, the natural dependance of man with reſpect to the Supreme Being, and the laws of nature. The plan of government, therefore, inſtead of ſubverting this firſt order of nature, ever was, and always will be, to give a new degree of force and conſiſtency to all our natural duties. Every ſyſtem of policy not proceeding upon this principle, is a ſpecies of tyranny, more properly than a form of government. "Nations or "ſtates," ſays Vatel, "are bodies politic; ſocieties of men united "together, to procure their mutual ſafety and advantage, by means of "their union.

"Each ſociety has its particular affairs and intereſts; it deliberates "and takes reſolotions in common, and thus becomes a moral perſon, "having an underſtanding and a will peculiar to itſelf, and being "ſuſceptible of obligations and laws."

Now, from this definition of bodies politic, under whatever form they may be diſtinguiſhed, a conſequence follows, of the utmoſt importance to our cauſe.

Civil societies are ſtates of equality; a parity of right is eſtabliſhed by nature between them, and obliges them, if they do their duty, to have a reciprocal regard for each other's welfare and tranquility. Hence the general principle of the law of nations is nothing more, than the general law of ſociability, which obliges all nations, that have any intercourſe with each other, to practiſe thoſe duties to which individuals are naturally ſubject. And conſidering bodies politic as moral perſons, it is plain there can be but one ſole and the ſame rule of juſtice and common right, for all mankind.

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I CANNOT adduce any ſtronger arguments to prove, that from the commencement of civil ſociety, a ſet of invariable rules or maxims muſt have been eſtabliſhed for the government of the whole human race, to enable them to advance towards the perfection of their natures, and to live like rational beings.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe maxims may have been loſt in ages of barbariſm, obſcured by bigotry and ſuperſtition, or obſtructed by modern policy, yet, they are not the leſs immutable and obligatory on all civilized nations, to lateſt poſterity; and as they form what may be properly ſtiled, the poſitive law of nations, I ſhall delineate them, in as conciſe a manner as poſſible; and eſtabliſh them as invariable, true political principles.

THE general obligations of civil ſocieties to each other are,

I. THAT all nations ſhould reciprocally contribute to each other's happineſs and proſperity. This is what the law of nature required at firſt, between man and man; but, as every individual owes a primary duty to himſelf, which ſurpaſſes all other obligations, ſo it is with nations; therefore, the law of nations, in preſcribing univerſal benevolence, does not mean to extend it ſo far, as that any nation ſhould aſſiſt another, or promote its intereſt, or welfare, to its own detriment: the general obligation ceaſes, when that is the caſe; becauſe the performance of it, is deemed morally and politically impoſſible.

To render this familiar by example:---Let us ſuppoſe Great Britain demanded of a power, with whom ſhe was not only at peace, but actually allied by the ſtrongeſt treaties of amity, to permit the free entrance and conſumption of certain Britiſh manufactures, in that ſtate: a refuſal might be juſtly given, without violating the law of nations; and in theſe terms---"Our ſtate cannot ſubſiſt without the revenues "ariſing from the duties of importation on foreign manufactures; "beſides, we have eſtabliſhed ſimilar manufactures of our own: we "cannot, therefore, aſſiſt you in the diſpoſal of your's; nor thus "promote your commercial intereſt, without manifeſt prejudice to our "own ſtate." The ſame may be urged with regard to military ſuccours;

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ſuccours; and the being engaged in the quarrels of nations; as theſe may prove eſſentially injurious to the aſſiſting ſtate *.

But if the calamities of famine, fire, inundations or earthquakes, deſolate nations; it then becomes an indiſpenſable obligation on all other nations to lend their immediate and effectual aſſiſtance to the ſuffering ſtate, in proportion to their power and abilities, and to the diſtreſſed circumſtances of the ſufferers.

Such was the unhappy fate of Liſbon, A. D. 1755---and to the immortal honour of Great Britain! ſhe was the firſt to put in practice this general obligation of the law of nations, by affording ſpeedy and liberal ſuccours.

II. Not to invade each other's dominions, or perform any acts of hoſtility ſuddenly; or by ſurprize; nor without publickly aſſigning juſt and ſufficient cauſe.

The conduct of modern nations has frequently been diametrically repugnant to this equitable principle of the law of nations; and the occaſional violations of it, have but too plainly proved, in theſe latter times, that even Chriſtian powers have conſidered it, as having no other baſis but arbitrary cuſtom, which might be broke through on every occaſion, adminiſtered by political neceſſity. To the misfortune of mankind, they have adopted, too ſeriouſly, the opinions of writers, who were enemies to the civil rights of mankind, and friends to tyranny and oppreſſion:---hence, the invaſion of the territories of the ſavage, but to them innnocent inhabitants of Aſia and America---the ſeizing on their property---the expulſion, captivity, and maſſacre of the natives, under the plauſible pretext of civilizing them:

And hence, a reproachful innovation on the common rights of the

* The duties towards ourſelves, having inconteſtably the advantage over our duty with reſpect to others, a nation ought, in the firſt place, preferably to all other conſiderations, to do whatever it can, to promote its own happineſs and perfection: I ſay whatever it can, not only in a phyſical, but in a moral ſenſe; that is, what it can do lawfully, and conſiſtent with juſtice and integrity. When, therefore, it cannot contribute to the welfare of another, without doing an eſſential injury to itſelf, the obligation ceaſes on this particular occaſion; and the nation is conſidered as under an impoſſibility of performing that office.
Vatel Droit des Gens.

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ſubjects of all nations upon earth, has been contended for;---has actually been carried into execution by Great Britain;---and has been applauded, as a mark of public ſpirit, and political wiſdom! I mean, the ſeizing, by force of arms, on the perſons and effects of the private ſubjects of any nation, previous to a public declaration of war. By the law of nations, no ſtate ought to proceed to acts of hoſtility againſt another, till ſuch a declaration has been made; for the ſubjects of each, who cannot be ſuppoſed to enter into the intrigues of courts, repoſe ſecurely on the good faith ſubſiſting between their ſovereign, and the powers with whom he is at peace; and, in that confidence, thus adventure their perſons and properties on the perilous ocean: nor can they have any other means to be informed that a rupture has happened, but a declaration of war; which inſtantly puts them on their guard, and enables them to provide for their ſecurity. But to ruin and deſtroy them, prior to ſuch a declaration, is no other than piracy; and cannot be juſtified on any principle of political neceſſity whatever.

Some modern writers and politicians have aſſerted, that the retaliating party is not obliged to make a public declaration againſt the aſſailant: but they are in the wrong; for neutral nations cannot pretend to determine which party is the aggreſſor, barely by their manifeſtoes; and as the intereſts of civil ſocieties are variouſly connected and combined by treaties, which ſometimes are of a very private nature; it appears to be highly obligatory on nations, between whom a rupture has happened, to give public notice of it, by the accuſtomary ſolemn declarations of war. In fact, this is an indiſpenſable obligation, impoſed by the ſecond principle of the poſitive law of nations, in order that the lives and properties of the ſubjects of neutral nations, may not be unexpectedly endangered, by their connections with the contending parties---connections formed in times of profound peace; and often concentered in commercial tranſactions alone.

No degree of power then, nor any poſſible advantage to be derived from the exerciſe of it, will prevail with the ſtateſman, who conſiders the LAW of NATIONS as founded on the LAW of NATURE; and THAT, as being conſonant to our ideas of the attributes of equity and goodneſs

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goodneſs in the Deity; to violate ſo fundamental a principle of honeſt policy.

But, on the contrary, he who looks upon the law of nations to be founded only on arbitrary cuſtom, and the caſual conſent of ſtates, will break through it, with as much eaſe, and as little ceremony, as through a private, particular convention between nation and nation; whenever a political neceſſity, or a political advantage occurs; but let him remember, that in ſuch a caſe, he leaves a ſtain upon his country, which no military atchievements, no territorial or commercial ſucceſſes can eraſe; and has opened a door to illegal retaliation.

III. Not to moleſt, hurt, impriſon, or put to death, the ſubjects of one nation reſiding in another; nor to ſeize on, or confiſcate their effects, without a juſt cauſe.

IV. To exerciſe all the offices of common humanity to each other: ſuch as ſending out aſſiſtance from ſea-ports to the relief of ſhips in diſtreſs---furniſhing the crews with proviſions *---and affording all due ſuccours to nations afflicted with famine, and other dreadful calamities.

V. To allow of a mutual intercourſe with each other, when no particular reaſons of ſtate forbid it.

VI. Not to declare war againſt each other, but for the moſt weighty reaſons: never for trifles. For war is the ſevereſt act of public juſtice; ſince its end is, the deſtruction of mankind.

To declare war, is to pronounce a ſentence of death againſt a nation; which we reſolve to execute, when in our power. If then, we are not inſenſible to the feelings of humanity, we ſhould ſeriouſly aſk

* No nation ought to take umbrage at another for ſupplying its enemy with proviſions and other neceſſaries of life, when its fleets or armies touch at a neutral country; for they have a right to demand ſuch ſuccours by the law of nations; and even to take them by force, if refuſed. The Turks, therefore, could not declare war againſt Great Britain, on account of our furniſhing proviſions, and other neceſſaries, to the Ruſſian fleets in our ports; nor even for ſelling them warlike ſtores. But if we had tranſported theſe to the ſcene of action in our own ſhips, the Turks would have had a right to ſeize them, and confiſcate both ſhips and cargoes: and it was on this principle we ſeized ſeveral Dutch ſhips carrying ammunition to our enemies the French, during the laſt war.

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ourſelves this queſtion---Has the offending prince, and his ſubjects, ſo deeply tranſgreſſed, that nothing will do but putting them to death? Would to God this point were more conſcientiouſly debated, in the councils of Chriſtian kings, before they cry havock, and let looſe the dogs of war!

VII. To reſpect that freedom and independence, which each nation derives from the law of nature; and which we are as much bound to let them enjoy peaceably, though we have ſuperior ſtrength on our ſide, as we are not to deprive an individual of his perſonal liberty, if he has not violated the laws of the country in which he reſides.

FROM this liberty and independence it follows, that nations, like private perſons, are to judge conſcientiouſly of what they can or cannot do; of what is proper or improper to be done; and, conſequently, to examine and determine what offices they can perform for each other; and what they may equitably refuſe. In all caſes therefore, where a nation has the liberty of judging what its duty requires; another cannot compel it to act in this or that manner, as the requiring nation ſhall dictate. For to attempt this, is to violate the natural liberty of nations.

IT may now be comprehended, without difficulty, why the right is always imperfect, when the obligation which anſwers to it, depends on the judgment of another. Our obligation is always imperfect, in relation to others, when the deciſion of what we have to do is reſerved to ourſelves; and this deciſion is reſerved to us on all occaſions, where we have a right to be free.

NATIONS then, like individuals, deriving from the law of nature, a ſtate of freedom, rational independence, and egality; the honour of a nation, as well as the conſcience of a private man, muſt be ſometimes relied on; and therefore, we muſt leave to all nations, a right to determine within themſelves, on certain obligations they owe to univerſal ſociety; and, in many inſtances, to put their own conſtruction on ſome parts of the law of nations: their adherence to many particulars, muſt conſequently be voluntary, and cannot be compulſitory; becauſe, we are not to deſtroy the natural right they have to form their own particular governments

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governments or adminiſtrations, on principles which they may judge equitable and conſcientious, but which, in ſome reſpects, may claſh with the general law of nations. Such, for inſtance, are the particular regulations of different ſtates, with reſpect to religion, commerce, and the adminiſtration of juſtice; for however ſome of theſe may be found to deviate even from the common rights of humanity, yet nations cannot interfere in the conteſts that may ariſe between the people and their governors, in any ſtate, on account of ſuch regulations.

And this leads me to the diſcuſſion of the cuſtomary law of nations, founded on the various conſtructions of the principles of the poſitive law of nations, by different civil ſocieties of men.

Persecutions for religious ſyſtems and opinions, are manifeſt infringements on the law of nature and of nations; but if a particular ſtate dooms to death one half of its ſubjects, it is cuſtomary for other nations not to take part in the affair; for this would be to involve the whole world in continual wars. The unhappy people, having ſubmitted to the ſyſtem of polity eſtabliſhed in their country, muſt effectuate a revolution themſelves, or patiently endure their hard lot; but they cannot claim foreign ſuccour, on the general principles of the law of nations.

It is abſolutely neceſſary then, for the peace of the world, that nations ſhould take no notice of open ſcenes of barbarity and oppreſſion in others; becauſe they are not entitled to oppoſe them by force of arms: for this would be to violate the freedom and independence each nation aſſerts, to govern its own domains, on principles peculiar to itſelf; and ſaid to be adapted to the climate, genius, temper and manners of the inhabitants. For this reaſon it is agreed upon, by the general conſent of all civilized nations, not to intermeddle in the great revolutions that happen in the different ſocieties of men: on the ſole principle of obſerving the law of nations. Where they are bound by treaties to guaranty ſucceſſions, the caſe is different; it then becomes political law.

Or if, on a projected revolution, the majority of the troubled ſtate, or any branch of its legiſlature, apply (by requeſt) for foreign aid; then it

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it becomes a matter of political conſideration in the nation applied to, whether they ſhall interfere or not?

THIS was the caſe, in our glorious revolution, when King William was invited over, and was aſſiſted by the ſtates-general.

BUT if no ſuch treaties ſubſiſt, nor no ſuch particular application is made for relief, the connections with foreign ſtates, and the *routine* of external, political affairs, often go on in the ſame channel, amidſt the internal commotions of a ſtate.

WE even frequently ſee ambaſſadors, and other perſons inveſted with public characters, remain, and perform their functions during a civil war, or a revolution. This was the caſe on the late remarkable revolution in Ruſſia; and it has happened on many occaſions of a ſimilar nature:---too many indeed to recite.

IT is a cuſtomary obligation for nations to notify to each other, when any general, epidemical diſeaſes rage in their dominions; and to give bills of health to maſters of ſhips, and to all travellers paſſing from one country to another, to aſcertain the healthy ſtate of each; and, by this means, to promote the ſafety of mutual intercourſe.

IT is cuſtomary to reſpect the perſons and characters of ambaſſadors, and other public miniſters; and, in all CIVILIZED nations, to grant them certain privileges and immunities.

IT is a received maxim, but too often deviated from, not to corrupt and ſeduce each other's ſubjects; but the eſtabliſhment of manufactures in moſt modern ſtates, has ariſen, in a great degree, from repeated violations of this maxim.

IT is equally interdicted to nations, to ſow diſcord, or foment diviſions or rebellions in each other's dominions, by clandeſtine means; as by ſpies and private emiſſaries---to gain over each other's allies ſecretly---to deprive each other of any natural or acquired advantages---or to tarniſh the renown and ſplendour of each other's fame.

THE honours of precedence, of the flag, dominion of the ſeas, and other privileges of the like nature, are alſo founded on cuſtom; and, as ſuch, are rather arbitrary than binding.

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It is with reluctance I find myſelf obliged to cloſe this head, with a remark very unfavourable to modern policy:

As private men are apt to weigh the obligations they owe to their neighbours, more by their internal notions of their duty, than by poſitive laws, where theſe are not enforced by pains and penalties; ſo nations will often evade, or explain away, by political refinements, or by the rules and maxims of their particular polity, the general obligations of the law of nations: it follows therefore, of courſe, that, for the moſt part, they will be but imperfectly obſerved.

Yet, from the general principles of the law of NATURE and of NATIONS, are derived all the ſyſtems of government in the known world.

Our next enquiry then, muſt be directed to the origin, or firſt riſe of governments.

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ON THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENTS.

THE neceſſity of men's aſſociating together, has been already pointed out: the equal neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome ſyſtem of government, to preſerve thoſe aſſociations, and to render them permanent and happy, will appear, from a due attention to the FIRST principle of all rational governments, CIVIL LIBERTY.

THE freedom of individuals, ſecured by the wiſdom and integrity of the community, was the firſt object of all wiſe and honeſt legiſlators. But as many errors of conduct have ariſen in the beſt regulated ſocieties, from falſe ideas of civil liberty, which ignorant men often confound with natural liberty, it may be proper, in this place, to give a true definition of both.

NATURAL LIBERTY is the right which nature gives to all mankind, of diſpoſing of their perſons and property, in the manner they think moſt conducive to their happineſs; on condition of their keeping within the limits of the law of nature; which preſcribes, the not abuſing that liberty, to the injury of others: from hence it is obſervable, "that natural liberty is not entirely a ſtate of independence, as "ſome have fondly imagined; for there is a reſtraint from miſchief and "evil actions, ariſing out of the natural obligations of man to man; "independant of ſociety."

THUS, to the right of natural liberty, there ever belonged a reciprocal obligation, not to moleſt others in the enjoyment of the ſame right; but the force of ſeparate intereſts, and of the paſſions, prompted men, in their primitive ſtate, to a violation of this reciprocal tie.

THE proud, the luſtful, the ſavage and the robuſt, diſturbed the tranquility of the meek, the temperate and the virtuous, on whoſe natural rights, they made the moſt ſhameful encroachments, either through

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through fraud or violence: as therefore, man through neceſſity had aſſociated with his own ſpecies to defend him from other animals, ſo now it became as neceſſary to ſecure him from the aſſaults of his own ſpecies, which could not be effected any other way but by ſurrendering, in a great meaſure, his natural liberty into the hands of one, or more perſons, who, by the common conſent of all the members of the aſſociation, to which he belonged, ſhould be inveſted with authority to govern the reſt; and armed with power to enforce that authority. Thus men ſubmitted to be governed; and the reſtraints laid on natural liberty, by the inſtitutes of government, gave it, as it were, a new creation and a new name; for it thenceforth became CIVIL LIBERTY.

THE advantages of this change, are too evident to be called in queſtion. It is true civil liberty differs from natural, in that it diveſts individuals of the free diſpoſal of their perſons and actions, and lodges it in the hands of their rulers; but they are thereby ſecured againſt the lawleſs rapine and violence of malevolent individuals; and they acquire three very conſiderable rights from civil liberty.

1. THAT of inſiſting, that theſe rulers or ſovereigns ſhall make a good uſe of their authority; particularly by inſuring to them, that protection, in conſideration of which they reſigned their natural liberty.

2. THAT of demanding, or exacting from their rulers, ſolemn promiſes, oaths and covenants, for the due performance of their reſpective duties.

3. THE right of claiming the aid and aſſiſtance of all good men, of their own and other ſocieties, to enable them to compel their governors to protect them in their civil rights and immunities; or, on failure thereof, to remove them, and elect others, more worthy to govern.

CIVIL LIBERTY, the firſt principle of all wiſe governments, adequately defined, is then, no other but natural liberty itſelf, diveſted of that part which conſtituted the rational independence of individuals, by the authority which it confers on a ſovereign; attended with a right of inſiſting on his making a good uſe of his authority; and a moral ſecurity that this right will have its effect.

SINCE civil liberty, therefore, is far preferable to natural liberty, we

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may ſafely conclude, that the form of government which ſecures to mankind the moſt ample enjoyment of this invaluable bleſſing, is, of all human ſtates, the moſt perfect, the moſt rational, and, of courſe, the beſt adapted to the nature of man.

But before I proceed to the ſecond principle, let me be permitted to point out the utility of the reflections already made on the advantages men derive from the inſtitution of government.

They deſerve very great attention, being very proper to remove the falſe notions which moſt people entertain upon this ſubject; as if the civil ſtate could not be eſtabliſhed but in prejudice to their natural liberty; and as if government had been invented only to ſatisfy the ambition of deſigning men, contrary to the intereſt of the reſt of the community.

They muſt inſpire men with love and veneration for ſo ſalutary an inſtitution; and diſpoſe them to ſubmit chearfully to whatever the laws of civil ſociety require of them; from a conviction, that the benefits from thence derived, are very conſiderable.

They may likewiſe contribute greatly to cultivate the love of our country; the firſt ſeeds of which, nature herſelf has implanted in the hearts of all mankind, in order to promote, as it does moſt eſſentially, the happineſs of ſociety.

Sextus Empiricus relates, "That it was a cuſtom among the "antient Perſians, upon the death of a king, to paſs five days in a ſtate "of anarchy, as an inducement to be more faithful to his ſucceſſor, "from the experience they acquired of the inconveniences of anarchy; "of the many murders, robberies, and every other miſchief with which "it is pregnant *."

And as theſe reflections are calculated to remove the prejudices of private people againſt government; ſo likewiſe do they contain moſt excellent inſtructions and admonitions to ſovereigns. For can any thing be better adapted to make princes ſenſible of the full extent of their duty, than to lay before them the ends which the people purpoſed to themſelves when they entruſted them with the cuſtody of

* Adverſ. Mathemat. lib. 2. Herodot. lib. 1. c. 96.

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their natural liberty; and the ſolemn engagements into which they entered, by the very act of charging themſelves with this ſacred depoſit. We have ſeen, that by civil liberty mankind acquired certain rights from their ſovereigns, and we have ſhewn what they are. In a word, whatever has been ſaid concerning the advantages of the inſtitution of government, in preference to the ſtate of nature, ſuppoſes the adminiſtration of it to be as perfect, as the frailty of human reaſon will admit: that both ſubjects and ſovereigns diſcharge their reciprocal obligations to each other *.

The SECOND principle, on which civil governments were originally formed was, the aſcertaining and ſecuring private property, which was the next object to civil liberty, and may therefore be deemed the ſecond principle of POLITICS.

The THIRD principle was, the inſtitution of civil codes or written ordinances, agreed on by the common conſent of the community: obedience to which, was enforced by pains and penalties, which Burlamaqui calls LAW, in its general ſenſe, and thus defines it: "It "is a rule preſcribed by the ſovereign of a ſociety to his ſubjects, in "order to lay an obligation upon them of doing or omitting certain "things under the commination of puniſhments, or to leave them at "liberty to act or not, in other things, as they think proper; and to "ſecure to them, in this reſpect, the full enjoyment of their RIGHTS."

LAWS, therefore, were inſtituted to oblige ſubjects to purſue their real intereſt; and to chooſe the ſureſt way to attain true happineſs.

WHATEVER the LAW does not forbid, is permitted; and on this permiſſion are founded the rights of individuals in any ſtate; and all deviation from this rule, muſt have for its end, licentiouſneſs or ſedition.

The FOURTH principle was, to put into the hands of the perſon or perſons appointed to govern, a certain degree of power and ſtrength; to defend the community from all external aſſaults from foreign enemies.

FROM this deduction of the original principles of all civil governments, we plainly diſcover, that their true ſource was the divine and written

* See Burlamaqui's Principles of Political Law.

law

law of nature, and civil codes, of human inſtitution, which we ſpecified under the head of the law of nature.

ALL other principles of government ariſe out of theſe; and may more properly be ſtiled, the INSTITUTES of particular nations, than the general ELEMENTS of POLITICS.

ON theſe then, were formed the firſt ſolemn compacts or covenants, between the maſs of the people, ſubmitting to be ruled, and their RULERS. The latter, covenanting on their parts, to provide for the honour, ſafety and intereſt of the former; and they, for themſelves, ſtipulating to obey them, ſo long as they ſhould govern them, according to the maxims of virtue and equity. But though all men agreed as to the expediency of framing civil governments, on the principles juſt laid down, yet great differences aroſe with reſpect to the mode or particular ſyſtem, that was beſt adapted to theſe principles.

I KNOW ſome writers warmly contend for the antiquity of monarchy, or government veſted in the hands of a ſingle perſon; they even go a ſtep further, and pretend, that in the firſt ages of the world, men were unanimous in their choice of this kind of government. It is not to our purpoſe to diſcuſs this point: but we may pertinently venture one remark:

THAT, admitting the antiquity and univerſality of monarchy, it makes againſt the advocates for that ſyſtem of government; for, had it been the beſt calculated to preſerve inviolate, the grand principles on which civil compacts were firſt formed, it would have been the only form of government in the world to this hour; but as this is not the caſe, we muſt be obliged, in admitting the antiquity of monarchy, to enquire into the cauſes of the introduction of other ſyſtems; and this now follows, in the order of our ſubject.

IT is a truth, ſupported by hiſtorical evidence, from all quarters of the globe, That as ſocieties of men multiplied, a diverſity of opinions aroſe, with reſpect to the internal frame of government; and that various modes were adopted, for the better ſecuring the allegiance of the ſubject to the ſupreme POWER; and for preſerving inviolate, the PRIVILEGES of the people.

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THE fatal effects of the paſſions, ſoon made it evident, that the ſovereign authority, lodged in the hands of one man, might poſſibly prove more detrimental than beneficial to ſociety: hence, other forms of government were deviſed; and, by the time theſe were carried into execution, the jarring intereſts of the ſeveral ſocieties, already eſtabliſhed, produced violations of the law of NATURE and of NATIONS: from whence aroſe, civil diſſentions and wars; the conſequences of which were, that ſome ſocieties being oppreſſed, by the ſupreme GOVERNOR's having violated his part of the compact, by which he was appointed to rule over them, implored the aſſiſtance of neighbouring ſtates, to enable them to ſhake off the yoke of obedience.

IN other ſocieties, the people, having violated their engagements, the ſupreme power was obliged to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of ſome foreign POTENTATE; to enable him to reduce his rebellious ſubjects within the limits of legal ſubjection.

BUT very often it happened, that the bands of CIVIL SOCIETY, once looſened, its diſſolution ſoon followed; and as often, perfidy wore the maſk of friendſhip; and the ALLY, called in to aſſiſt a diſtreſſed MONARCH, or an injured PEOPLE, became the CONQUEROR of both.

FROM this ſlight ſketch of the dire conſequences of the paſſions, we may readily account for the introduction of different ſyſtems of government: further evidence on this head, would carry us deep into the records of hiſtory, and wide of our plan.---Suffice it then to obſerve, that we ſtand indebted to theſe early diſſentions in political opinions, for all the improved ſyſtems of POLICY, which have ſince prevailed in the world.

PART

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PART II.

ON THE

DIFFERENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT,
which have generally prevailed in the World.

WE will now take a view of the different forms of government which have owed their rise to the combined causes just mentioned.

THE result will be, an enquiry, which is the best? And this question must be determined by the elementary principles of sound policy, deduced from the LAW of NATURE, and of NATIONS.

BY way of introduction, permit me to remark---

THAT every form of government has its advantages and inconveniences inseparably attached to its constitution. It is in vain to seek for a government absolutely perfect; for however any one may appear so in speculation, yet, when reduced to practice, under the administration of men, it will ever partake of the frailties and imperfections of human nature.

POLITICAL writers have agreed to range the several forms of government, that have been instituted by mankind, under three general denominations.

MONARCHY.

ARISTOCRACY.

DEMOCRACY.

AND they thus define them---

MONARCHY is the government of a state by a single person; the sole ruler, or governor of that state. This sole ruler may be differently stiled; for, whether he is called chieftain, king, or emperor, still, the people submitting to his sway, live under monarchical government.

BY

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BY this definition it evidently appears, that the firſt civil governments were of this kind; the very idea of a ſole ruler, being derived from the natural authority of the father of a family; as he was, *pater familiæ*, ſo was the ſupreme, ſole ruler to be, *pater patriæ*; the common father of the whole community.

MONARCHY then undoubtedly claims the precedence, on account of its antiquity, to all other forms of government; though much learning and ingenuity has been diſplayed by the celebrated Gordon, in his Treatiſe on Government, to controvert this point; which is ſupported by the concurrent teſtimony of all the antient writers.

BUT it as plainly appears, from every reſpectable authority, antient and modern, that the power of theſe ſole governors, by what title ſoever diſtinguiſhed, was derived from, and limited by the people; and alſo, that it was but very ſmall in the beginning, and gradually became enlarged.

THIS obſervation I make, by way of introduction to a diſtinction allowed of by all political writers---of three kinds of MONARCHY.

1. ABSOLUTE.
2. LIMITED.
3. MIXED.

RESPECTING the firſt, I ſhall lay down a propoſition, that will perhaps ſurprize the many advocates for deſpotiſm; for which reaſon, I thus publickly declare, that I ſhall, with great readineſs, retract it, if it be clearly proved, that I have either miſconceived, or miſapplied the ſentiments of the venerable authors, from whom I have borrowed it.

" ABSOLUTE MONARCHY then, or the government of one perſon, " by the meaſure of his own WILL and POWER, independant of any " reſtraint from the people he governs, or any laws by them enacted, " and by him aſſented to, is only another name for TYRANNY, or " cruel and violent government, unlawfully uſurped; having no claim " to origin or antiquity, nor any pretenſion to our notice, while " treating on the ſubject of true POLITICS, except this: That as it " found its way into civil ſocieties, by fraud and violence, and ſtill " ſubſiſts, in ſome ſavage countries, we ought to ſhew our abhorrence

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" of its very name; and, as men! as Chriſtians! and as free-born " Britons! to fix an indelible mark of infamy, on all arbitrary power " whatever."

THE proofs of this propoſition will ariſe out of the inveſtigation of the origin and general prevalency of limited monarchy, in the early ages of the world; for if we plainly demonſtrate, that this was the only kind of monarchy that ever obtained amongſt mankind, by the conſent of civil ſocieties, the truth of the aſſertion, that abſolute monarchy is TYRANNY, will ſtand confeſſed.

PUFENDORF mentions two conventions, as neceſſary for the formation of civil ſocieties *.

THE firſt, that by which each individual agrees with the whole, to form themſelves into one body; and with one common conſent, to provide for their mutual ſafety. This convention is either abſolute or conditional: if the former, whatever form of government is agreed to by the majority, muſt be ſubmitted to by every individual; if the latter, no one is bound to enter into the ſociety, unleſs he approves the form of government propoſed to be eſtabliſhed.

THE ſecond convention is that, by which (after the form of government is agreed on, by common conſent) one, or more PERSONS are choſen, on whom, the power of governing the ſtate is conferred; ſo that thoſe who are inveſted with power, may be diligent in providing for the welfare and ſafety of the public; and that all the reſt, may promiſe faithful obedience to the ſupreme authority.

OUR countryman Gordon thinks, that Pufendorf makes the firſt contract of much too reſtrained a nature; and he eſtabliſhes the whole baſis of government, on that contract alone, whereby each particular agrees with the reſt, to ſubmit his actions to the guidance and direction of the univerſal aſſembly, provided they do ſo likewiſe; and that the ordinances of ſuch aſſembly be not contrary to the dictates of the law of nature: thus, by extending the plan of Pufendorf's firſt contract, he juſtly precludes the neceſſity of the ſecond.--- " For," ſays he, " from " this ſource alone, may we deduce all the obligations incumbent on

* Pufendorf, lib. 7, c. 9.

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" the members of any ſtate; and we need not ſearch out, either for an " ordinance to regulate the form of government, or for any ſecond " convention to compel the ſupreme power, or magiſtrate, to protect " the particulars; or the particulars, to be faithful to the magiſtrate."

FROM theſe two reſpectable writers, we plainly diſcover the fountain, from which all ſupreme power, whether of one or more perſons, originally flowed; *viz.* from the body, or general aſſembly of the people *.

BUT in order to ſhew how very confined the ſupreme power was, in the infancy of civil governments, we muſt carry our enquiries a little further.

As the judiciary power was the ſole which government had occaſion for originally, and the exerciſe of it had, by the negligence of the young, devolved on the elders in ſtates; ſo, when they found they wanted other powers and new authorities to preſerve the community, no wonder if they entruſted the leading the forces, voted by the authority of the people (and which were, in truth, no other than the people themſelves in arms) to the ſame elders; who, finding this power of a nature more eaſily and ſpeedily to be executed by one out of their own body, they choſe ſuch an one; who was accountable to them, in like manner, as they were reſponſible to their conſtituents. To this election of a general, do many attribute the riſe not only of monarchies, but of governments.

BARBEYRAC imagines, that theſe generals, who were firſt dignified with the title of kings, were the founders of government; and confeſſes, that their ſole province was to decide cauſes, and to command armies: but the power of making war or peace, of negociating treaties,

* IT muſt be agreed, that ſovereignty reſides originally in the people, and in each individual with regard to himſelf; and that it is the transferring and uniting the ſeveral rights of individuals, in the perſon of the ſovereign, or ſupreme ruler, that conſtitutes him ſuch, and really produces ſovereignty. It is beyond all diſpute, for example, that when the Romans choſe Romulus and Numa for their kings, they muſt have conferred upon them, by this very act, the ſovereignty, which thoſe princes were not poſſeſſed of before, and to which they had certainly no other right, than what was derived from the election of the people. *Burlamaqui's Principles of Political Law.*

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and every principal branch of the legiſlative, federative and executive power, was lodged in the people, or their repreſentatives, the elders; the conſtituents of theſe GENERALS.

BUT a paſſage from Dionyſius of Hallicarnaſſus, will put the matter out of doubt, "That limited monarchies were the only kind of regal "government, or rule, by one perſon ever inſtituted, by the voluntary "conſent of mankind;" and that abſolute monarchy, was always deemed illegal, uſurped authority.

"ORIGINALLY," ſays he, "all the cities of Greece were governed "by kings; with this difference, that theſe exerciſed not an abſolute "deſpotic power, like the barbarians, but according to the laws and "cuſtoms of their country; ſo that HE paſſed for the beſt KING, WHO "moſt RELIGIOUSLY obſerved the laws; and departed the leaſt from "the cuſtoms of his country; which Homer tells us, by calling them "diſtributors of juſtice: and theſe kingdoms ſubſiſted long, being "adminiſtered under FUNDAMENTAL law, and CERTAIN condition. "But ſome kings, having abuſed their truſt, and quitted the path of "the law, ruled arbitrarily and deſpotically; ſo that moſt of the "Grecian ſtates grew weary of them, and REVOKED their power."

WHAT need we more to prove, that all power was veſted conditionally; and that all obligations to rule, and to be ruled, might be diſſolved by the ſame parties that contracted them.

LIMITED MONARCHY, ſuch as Dionyſius has deſcribed, we may ſet down as a form of government founded on true political principles.

MIXED MONARCHY is a term, made uſe of by modern authors, to denote a particular ſpecies of limited monarchy; we will not, therefore, enlarge on this diſtinction at preſent, but proceed to the ſecond general form of government known in the world;

ARISTOCRACY; a form of government, wherein the ſupreme, legiſlative and executive power is veſted in the hands of the principal members of a ſtate, independant of the body of the people, or of any ſupreme authority, reſiding in any ſingle perſon.

MODERN writers have deſcribed theſe principal members to be nobles and ſenators; but theſe titles of pre-eminence being either modern,

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modern, or derived from monarchy, we muſt not ſubmit to this definition; nor will the term itſelf, derived from the Greek, admit of it, for it only expreſſes, that the beſt of the people, COMMAND or GOVERN: now whom ſhall we ſay were the beſt among the people to govern a ſtate under an ariſtocracy, before nobles or ſenators were known in the world; or whom ſhall WE deem, in this caſe, the principal members of a ſtate, in the earlieſt ages of antiquity? Moſt aſſuredly, thoſe, whom the body of the people eſteemed to be the moſt virtuous; and venerated for the poſſeſſion of ſuperior, NATURAL, and ACQUIRED TALENTS, adapted to rule and government. It is, therefore, highly probable, that they ſelected a few of the moſt renowned for WISDOM, TEMPERANCE, and a love of JUSTICE; and of theſe, framed an ARISTOCRACY.

THIS kind of government is not quite ſo conformable to the law of nature and nations, as limited monarchy; but of this hereafter.

THE third general ſpecies of government is,

DEMOCRACY; in which the ſupreme, legiſlative and executive power is lodged in the hands of the people; that is to ſay, in the majority. For where the majority of the people, either by themſelves, or thoſe they depute to repreſent them, have the whole power of the community, and can employ it in making and executing LAWS; in this caſe, the form of government is a perfect DEMOCRACY *.

THIS term is alſo taken from the Greek, and ſufficiently deſcribes its conſtitution; for it defines the government to be veſted in the people.

GREAT pains have been taken, by the advocates for this form of government, to prove its antiquity; making it even prior to MONARCHY, by alledging, that the firſt image of civil ſociety, was traced in democratic ſocieties, or families. This diſpute is merely ſpeculative; it being of no kind of importance to mankind, at preſent, what form of government is moſt antient.

THE grand queſtion is, which is the BEST? And in the diſcuſſion of this point, I have indeed ſet myſelf an arduous taſk---for I have the

* See Temple, Arbuthnot, and Locke on Government.

free

free opinions, and the prejudices of the living and the dead, to combat; with this mortifying circumſtance, as the reſult of all my aſſiduity, "That it is impoſſible to give univerſal ſatisfaction;" which all ſhould aim at, who preſume to make the public, at once, their judges, and their patrons.

BUT by the principles of the law of NATURE and of NATIONS, which are calculated to promote the welfare and happineſs of mankind in ſociety, they muſt be fairly tried; and that, in which they are moſt likely to be religiouſly obſerved, and allowance being made for the frailties of human nature, in which they are the leaſt deviated from, muſt merit the preference, in defiance of private partiality. The public good, as it is the ſupreme law, ought alſo to be the ſupreme rule of judgment.---"The ſtate demands it; it is therefore the will of "our Common Father; and ought to preclude every idle prejudice of "a partial education, and the locality of ſituation."

ANALYSIS

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ANALYSIS

OF THE

ADVANTAGES AND *DISADVANTAGES*

OF

MONARCHY, ARISTOCRACY AND DEMOCRACY.

ABSOLUTE MONARCHY, we have ſeen, is inconſiſtent with civil ſociety, and therefore it can be no form of civil government; which is intended to remedy the inconveniences of a ſtate of nature *.

MONTESQUIEU ſays, DESPOTISM is aptly figured in the conduct of the ſavages of Louiſiana, who, to gather the fruit, cut down the trees that bear it. We imagine, therefore, we ſhall not meet with any advocates for this uſurpation on the rights of mankind, except ſuch as do not merit our notice: the ſycophants of corrupt courts.

To a limited monarchy, in which the power of the ſovereign is only reſtrained from becoming abſolute, by the original compact between him and his ſubjects, but in which there is no mixture of ariſtocratic or democratic principles, a variety of objections are made; drawn both from the nature of ſuch government, and from the experience of its inconveniences, found in hiſtory.

* Sovereignty always ſuppoſes a beneficent power: we muſt indeed make ſome allowances for the weakneſs inſeparable from humanity; but beyond that, and when the people are reduced to the laſt extremity, there is no difference between tyranny and robbery. The one gives no more right than the other; and we may lawfully oppoſe force to violence.

Men have eſtabliſhed civil ſociety and government for their own good; to extricate themſelves from troubles, and to be reſcued from the evils of a ſtate of nature. But it is highly evident, that if the people were obliged to ſuffer every oppreſſion from their ſovereigns, and never to reſiſt their encroachments, this would be reducing them to a far more deplorable ſtate, than that which they intended to avoid by the inſtitution of ſovereignty.

Burlamaqui's Political Law.

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THE firſt is, the difficulty of preſerving the balance of power between the prince and the people, from their perpetual jealouſy of each other. ---The prince, and his courtiers, conſtruing every enquiry into their conduct, to be factious and ſeditious; and the people, deeming the exertions of the prince's prerogatives, as ſo many advances, or ſtrides towards arbitrary power: now, the conſequences of this ſtruggle between them, in nations where the people have not reſerved to themſelves the power of making, amending, and repealing the laws, for their government, are, tumults, inſurrections, rebellions and revolts on the part of the people; and either a violent, or corrupt adminiſtration, on the part of the prince.

SECONDLY, It is objected, that the ſplendor, pomp and magnificence attending the regal ſtate, intoxicates the mind of the poſſeſſor; allures him to a life of luxury and indolence, and diſpoſes him to diveſt himſelf of the painful cares of government, which he generally conſigns to the conduct of miniſters, who are his devoted ſlaves.

THUS an inferior ſpecies of deſpotiſm takes place; and the people are too often oppreſſed and enſlaved: having no power reſerved to oppoſe againſt the united force of the monarch and his miniſters; who are the fountains of honour, and diſpenſers of favours, by means whereof, they can corrupt the leaders of the people, and buy thoſe over to their party, who ought to ſtand in the gap, and defend the juſt rights of the people; AS ſtrenuouſly AS the courtiers ſupport the prerogatives of the prince, on whom they immediately depend.

IF by means then, of a multitude of dignities, and offices of truſt and emolument, a prince can ſecure to himſelf ſuch a party in his dominions, that, though he ſtands engaged by ſolemn compact to govern according to fundamental maxims, and eſtabliſhed laws, he may diſpenſe with them at pleaſure, being ſure of protection and ſupport, againſt the rage of his ſubjects, from his dependant ſervants, it is plain, the grand end of the law of nature in the inſtitution of civil government is defeated: "for the freedom of the individual, "will not be ſecured by the wiſdom and integrity of the community:" on the contrary, his civil liberty and his property will be ſubject to encroachments,

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encroachments, as dangerous in their tendency, though perhaps not ſo rapid and violent, as in a ſtate of deſpotiſm; to which all limited monarchies decline, that have not a mixture of the democracy in their limitation. Theſe being the ſtrongeſt arguments againſt this form of government, it is needleſs to add others of leſs note.

To ARISTOCRACY, numberleſs objections ariſe, which plainly prove, that it is not a free form of government; but two or three will be ſufficient to ſhew that it cannot be the BEST.

A CONTENTION for power has been the bane of ariſtocratic governments; and though the abilities and aſſiduity of many ſeem to be combined for the public ſervice, yet the tie of common intereſt, is not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the violence of private feuds and animoſities, which never fail to break out in ſuch conſtitutions.

WHEN the government is lodged entirely in the hands of the nobles, or chief families of a country, and they are accountable only to their own body, it is evident, that the reſt of the people, having no power of redreſs by appeal, cannot have ſo much as the ſhadow of civil liberty; their perſons and property being at the diſpoſal of the arbitrary nobles, who make what laws they pleaſe: and therefore, ſuch a ſtate may be called a government of tyrants.

MONTESQUIEU obſerves, that two things are to be dreaded in an ARISTOCRACY: the extreme poverty and exorbitant riches of the nobles. What are we to infer from either of theſe ſituations, but a cruel oppreſſion of the people?

ARISTOCRACY then, is by no means calculated to anſwer the ends of civil government, inſtituted on the principles of the law of nature; for an unnatural inegality takes place between man and man; and no ſecurity is given, that the ſubordinate part, ſhall enjoy the civil rights and privileges, for which they ſurrendered their natural liberty; and allowed the aſſumption of ſuperiority, to theſe their compeers.

DEMOCRACY, or popular government, at firſt ſight, bids the faireſt for the preference, as approaching the neareſt to the ſtate of nature, freed from its inconveniences. Its firſt principle being that of equality amongſt men, we are led to believe, that this form of government, is

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the moſt conformable to the firſt plan of civil ſociety. In perfect democracies, the power of making, altering, and repealing the laws, by which they are to be governed, is veſted in the people themſelves.

THE elections to offices of honour, truſt and emolument, are either by free ſuffrage, by lot, or by rotation; and in the latter caſe, the frequent changes prevent the growth of exorbitant power and influence.

A SPIRIT of moderation uſually prevails in democracies; and the ſole ambition is, to deſerve well of the community.

VIRTUE and INDUSTRY is the baſis of education; becauſe it lays the foundation of pre-eminence, under this form of government.

FRUGALITY is the characteriſtic of a democracy; becauſe the principle of equality deſtroys that of envy, the pillar of luxury.

SALUTARY LAWS muſt neceſſarily be enacted, and duly obſerved, becauſe all are equally intereſted in their execution.

PROBITY muſt be a principle of ſelf-love in a democracy; for to defraud the ſtate, is to commit a robbery on one's-ſelf, where the management of the public treaſure is in the hands of thoſe that formed it.

EVERY CITIZEN, in a democratic ſtate, finds it neceſſary to be a good ſubject; as that qualification is a chief ground of his title to be a RULER.

THESE are the boaſted advantages of the democratical form of government: but they are unfortunately counterpoiſed by many, and very great inconveniences.

THE firſt I ſhall mention, is an inſurmountable objection.

ONE of the grand principles on which civil government was firſt inſtituted---the providing for, and ſecuring the ſafety of the ſtate, againſt the aſſaults of foreign enemies, is ſo weakened and impeded, by the ſlow, irreſolute, diſcordant deliberations and councils of great aſſemblies, in whom is veſted the ſupreme power in republican governments; that the danger has often proved irremediable, for the enemy has been at the door, before a majority in ſuch aſſemblies could be brought to agree on the neceſſary meaſures to be taken for the defence of the ſtate: and where unanimity, or the abſolute conſent of the whole

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whole has been required, as in ſome democracies, the caſe has been ſtill worſe; ſo that, on theſe emergencies, republican governments have been obliged to borrow from the ſyſtem of monarchy part of the regal power; and to inveſt a ſingle perſon with ſupreme authority; at leaſt for a time; till the criſis was over, in which popular government had proved defective.

THE election of DICTATORS in the Roman commonwealth, and of STATHOLDERS in Holland, are ſufficient proofs of what we have advanced on this head.

ANOTHER principle of the law of nature and of nations, is evidently impaired in the internal adminiſtration of a democratic form of government; which is, the equal and impartial diſtribution of juſtice: an accurate attention to the mode of carrying on and determining proceſſes, as well civil as criminal, in modern republics, will ſerve to convince us, that where there are ſuch multitudes of magiſtrates and judges, there muſt be great opportunities for the introduction of venality and corruption; and for the bias of natural affection, affinity, private friendſhip, and intereſted connections.

POPULAR TUMULTS are of the number of evils to which a democracy is ſubject; and by which individuals are often thrown back into a ſtate of nature, and all the ends of civil ſociety totally defeated: for when anarchy prevails, the lives and properties of the weak and defenceleſs lie at the mercy of brutal force, and lawleſs power. The facility with which the main body of the people, in a democracy, can reſume their delegated authority, is the next evil; a florid ſpeech in an aſſembly; a predilection in favour of particular men; a combination ſecretly formed, by means of bribery, or family connections, has often been the occaſion of changing or revoking the laws, and the decrees of ſenates in republican governments; and a refuſal to comply with the ſudden caprices of the populace, has frequently occaſioned dangerous and bloody inſurrections, and partial revolutions. I mean the removal of magiſtrates, and alterations in the mode of government, where they have not totally ſubverted it.

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LICENTIOUSNESS of manners is another evil of democracies, arising from too high a notion of the natural equality of mankind, and the want of a fixed veneration and reſpect for ſuperiors, who govern only for a limited time, and then are reduced to a level with the maſs of the people, who have been accuſtomed to obey them.

MANY other objections might be brought againſt this form of government; but enough has been ſaid to prove, that it cannot be the moſt eligible: for it does not, in many inſtances, ſo cloſely adhere to the principles of the law of nature, as limited monarchy.

IT might now be expected that I ſhould cloſe the ſubject, and decide that important queſtion: which is the beſt form of government in the known world? But, happily for the peace and proſperity of many civilized nations, it has been long ſince diſcovered, that the three forms, of which I have given a conciſe analyſis, are ſo defective, that they cannot anſwer the principal deſign of inſtituting civil governments.

THIS I ſhall demonſtrate in a very few words; which may ſerve as a recapitulation of the grand objections to limited monarchy, ariſtocracy and democracy.

CIVIL LIBERTY, the firſt principle upon which all wiſe governments are founded, has two powerful enemies in ſociety.

1. OPPRESSION, ſpringing from tyranny.

2. LICENTIOUSNESS, ariſing from popular degeneracy.

BUT to deſcribe theſe defects in government more diſtinctly: it has been cuſtomary with political writers to ſtile the corruption of monarchy, TYRANNY; the abuſe of ariſtocracy, OLIGARCHY; and the diſorder of democracy, OCHLOCRACY.

IF then each of the forms of government we have deſcribed, are, from the very nature of their ſeveral conſtitutions, liable to ſuch defects as equally tend to the ſubverſion of civil liberty, we moſt aſſuredly cannot give any one of them the preference to the other two. And this is the very reaſon, why ſo antient a diſpute, which has employed the pens of the ableſt writers from Herodotus, the father of hiſtory, down to the lateſt author on the controverſy, has never been decided.

IT

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IT is eaſy to perceive, that in a limited monarchy, the ſovereign has only to break through the original, ſimple contract between him and his people, to become a tyrant; and this he may do by means of a ſtanding army, or a well furniſhed treaſury, both of which are very often in the power of the ſovereign of a formidable people. Oppreſſion therefore, one of the enemies to CIVIL LIBERTY, may find a ready admiſſion into limited monarchies.

IN ariſtocracies, oligarchy, which is the bane of civil liberty, is almoſt unavoidable; for the unruly paſſions of ſome of the nobles, or ſenators who compoſe an ariſtocracy, will lead them into extravagance of every kind; and prodigality engendering poverty, THESE will be diſpoſed to ſell their power and influence in the ſtate, to a few opulent, bold, deſigning men, on condition that they ſhall enjoy the excluſive privilege of not feeling the weight of their oppreſſive government. Thus an oligarchy is formed; and this degeneracy, from a plan of government, very defective in its own nature, has been generally deemed a worſe ſpecies of oppreſſion than the tyranny of one man, which ſprings from monarchy.

As for democracies, the ſlighteſt reflection on the defects already ſtated, muſt convince us, that anarchy, or that kind of confuſion which throws men back into the ſtate of nature, and deprives them of all the advantages of civil liberty, is greatly to be apprehended from the facility of reſuming the delegated power, the multitude have conferred on their temporary magiſtrates. In ſhort, as civil liberty, in democratic ſtates, is apt to degenerate into licentiouſneſs, though it is enjoyed in the higheſt degree of perfection when that does not happen, yet it is held by ſo precarious a tenure that it is always on the verge of ruin. Inteſtine commotions, or foreign wars, unſettle it; and when once the band is looſened, which holds republics together, by the tie of common affection and united intereſts, it is their uſual fate, either to fall a prey to ambitious fellow citizens, or to ſubmit to a foreign yoke. By either of which cataſtrophes, they paſs from the eſſence of liberty, to the dregs of ſlavery.

THIS

THE rejection of the three forms of government which prevailed moſt generally in remote ages, and which ſtill ſubſiſt in many parts of the world, follows of courſe; and we muſt now endeavour to eſtabliſh a criterion by which we may be enabled to decide our favourite queſtion impartially; and as I cannot do this in clearer terms, I ſhall take the liberty to cite a propoſition of irreſiſtable force, in the words of BURLAMAQUI.

" THE height of human felicity and prudence is to know how to " guard againſt thoſe two enemies to civil liberty, TYRANNY and " LICENTIOUSNESS: the only method is to have a well conſtituted " government, formed with ſuch precautions as to baniſh licenti- " ouſneſs, and yet be no way introductive to tyranny."

LET us now add an amendment to our conteſted point; and aſk--- What form of government it is, that approaches the neareſt to this perfection?

THE reſolution of this queſtion, will enable us finally to decide, which is the beſt ſyſtem of policy now ſubſiſting among all the different nations of the earth; regard being had to the fallibility of all human inſtitutions.

IT may here be neceſſary to obſerve, that political writers have diſtinguiſhed the three forms of government of which we have been treating, by the general title of ſimple governments; and that no other were known till the final ſubverſion of the Roman empire.

SOON after this great event, compound governments were introduced generally into all parts of Europe; and to one of theſe we are indebted for the outlines of the Britiſh conſtitution; to the origin and nature of which I deſire your cloſeſt attention; for under this head we ſhall find our main queſtion reſolved.

ORIGIN

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ORIGIN OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION was originally formed upon the model of the little, ſeparate, independent governments, which ſubſiſted among the German nations, after the diſſolution of the Roman empire; and theſe were founded on a ſtrict ſcrutiny into the advantages and diſadvantages which had been experienced in each of the three general forms of government, that had prevailed in all parts of the world.

FROM a digeſt of the political laws of each, ſome German ſtates, framed a new form of government, being a compound of MONARCHY, ARISTOCRACY and DEMOCRACY; which gave it originally the title of a COMPOSITE ſyſtem: afterwards, the Gothic nations having adopted it, writers of thoſe days gave it the name of the GOTHIC BALANCE; but, in modern times, it has been more univerſally known and underſtood, by its proper definition, MIXED OR REGULATED MONARCHY.

As a more ample account of the inſtitution and progreſs in Europe, of a form of government to which we ſtand indebted for ſo many invaluable rights and privileges, I imagine muſt be highly acceptable to all the admirers and true friends of our excellent conſtitution, I have ſelected, from the beſt authorities, the following conciſe narrative of the primitive German ſtates.

THE continent of Europe has for many ages exhibited almoſt as many ſyſtems of government, as it contains ſeparate ſtates and kingdoms. The governments, which antiently prevailed in Italy, Gaul, Germany and Spain, before thoſe countries were conquered by the Romans, were all democratical or republican. Though the natives were not poſſeſſed of the philoſophy, learning or manners of the Greeks, yet they reſembled them in their averſion to the government of a ſingle perſon; for they exploded monarchy.

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ALL the Aſiatic, or eaſtern nations, on the contrary, appear either never to have had, or very early to have loſt, all ideas of any other but deſpotic governments. The little political knowledge they were maſters of, was not ſufficient to enable them to refine on this rude, barbarous ſyſtem, to which, either by conſent, or compulſion, ſucceſſive generations had tamely ſubmitted.

THIS political contraſt between the nations of Europe and Aſia, cannot be accounted for in any other way, but by admitting, that the genius and temper of mankind are regulated in a great degree by the climates; and therefore, that they muſt be extremely different in the various regions of the earth; ſo that phyſical cauſes muſt concur to produce that diſtinction of taſte, in arts, policy and manners, which has ſo generally prevailed in the world *.

IT ſhould ſeem, that the people inhabiting the warm and ſoft climates of the eaſt and ſouth, ever prefer indolence and quiet to all other conſiderations; and rather than be active in the maintenance of their natural rights, tamely ſubmit, upon any tolerable proſpect of preſent ſafety and protection, to bear the yoke of arbitrary government. Content with a ſmall proviſion for their immediate wants, and more afraid of labour than of poverty, they do not arraign the authority or conduct of their rulers; nor are they ſolicitous to enquire, upon what foundation the public intereſt is built.

BUT the northern nations, bred in a ſharper air, and more ungrateful ſoil, are rendered vigorous in body and mind, by the conſtant exerciſes of the powers of both for their ſubſiſtence; and thus they become bold and enterprizing, graſping every acquiſition that may ſerve as a ſupply againſt want. What they gain by toil, or peril of their lives, they are anxious to ſecure; and dread even the reſtraints of civil government, unleſs the defence and care of the property of individuals be made the public concern.

THE Greeks partook of this active and induſtrious ſpirit, though

* THE genius of political wiſdom, and of civil arts, appears to have choſen his ſeats in particular tracts of the earth; and to have ſelected his favourites in particular races of men. *Ferguſon on the Hiſtory of Civil Society.*

their

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their climate was more contiguous to Aſia than any other in Europe. Their ſoil, in many places, was not very fertile; and the whole domain they poſſeſſed, was of no great extent; beſides, it was ſeparated and diſunited by ſeas, rivers, and rugged mountains, which rendered a general intercourſe extremely difficult, and naturally divided them into a number of ſmall ſtates; the proper nurſeries of republican governments.

As they excelled other nations in all works of genius and invention, ſo were they equally diſtinguiſhed for their love of civil liberty; which however, ſpread no farther into the continent of Aſia, than the colonies they planted on its coaſts.

THIS ſhort digreſſion was neceſſary to illuſtrate our ſubject; to which I now return.

WHEN the Gothic nations extended their conqueſts over Europe, the officers and ſoldiers of their armies ſhared the conquered territories, as well as the chieftains. The victorious general, claimed only a larger portion of the lands, with ſome ſplendid deſignation for himſelf; while the bulk of property was diſtributed among the captains of his troops, who, retaining the uſe of arms, were readily arrayed to defend it from foreign attacks; and were careful, in time of peace, to guard it, by public laws and ſtatutes, from all domeſtic uſurpation.

UPON this baſis, aroſe the Gothic governments, formed, like Nature's handy-work, with amazing boldneſs and ſymmetry; the principles of the antient policy appearing to be reverſed in them; and by a combination of monarchy, ariſtocracy and democracy, generally held to be inconſiſtent, a new ſyſtem, partaking of the advantages of each of them, was eſtabliſhed.

THE diviſion of the ſupreme power ſoon followed that of the property, thus ſhared among the ſeveral orders of the community.

THE DUKE, or PRINCE, the PEERS, and, in proceſs of time, the heads, or what we now call the REPRESENTATIVES of the commons, compoſed one LEGISLATURE.

THIS compound ſyſtem of government was brought over to England, from Germany, by the Saxons.

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THUS have I given the true origin of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION; and the ſame may be ſaid of us, with reſpect to this conſtitution, as is obſerved with regard to arts, manufactures and commerce: "That "our genius for improving any deſign laid before us, is truly charac- "teriſtic."

THE model upon which we formed our admired ſyſtem of polity, in its rough, Gothic frame, preſented us the following outlines, or plan of a regular government.

EACH little Germanic ſtate conſiſted of a KING or ſupreme CHIEF; a number of inferior chiefs; and the people, or commons in general.

IN ordinary affairs, the KING conſulted with the chiefs, or ſuch of them as he thought fit to call to his council; but in the great affairs of ſtate, ſuch as making laws, conſulting about peace or war, trying of great cauſes, *&c.* the whole body of the people, at the deſire of their ſovereign, aſſembled together in arms.

THE KING and the CHIEFS conſulted together, and reſolved---the PEOPLE approved or diſapproved---they teſtified approbation by the clattering of their arms---and diſapprobation, by an harſh, inarticulate murmur. In the firſt caſe, the reſolution of the king and his nobles was carried into execution---in the laſt, it was always dropped or ſuſpended.

FROM hence proceeds the different words made uſe of in our antient writs or ſummons to parliament. The PEERS are ſummoned *ad conſulendum*; the commons, *ad conſentiendum*.

FROM hence, likewiſe, proceeds the cuſtom, ſtill ſubſiſting, of ſhewing our diſlike by hiſſing; and our approbation, by making a noiſe with our feet and hands.

THE GOVERNMENT was principally lodged in the king; and the exerciſe of the government, in the KING, and ſuch of his CHIEFS as he was pleaſed to call to his council. The LEGISLATIVE power was in the hands of the people; and alſo, the power of trying and puniſhing the GREATEST offenders; and as they had a legal and effectual method of exerciſing this power, in their general aſſemblies, it follows, that theſe were FREE governments.

THIS

THIS mixed form of government, prevailed almoſt every where in Europe, for many generations. But as there is no ſuch thing as perfect ſtability, or uniformity to be expected in any of the affairs of mankind, ſo the European governments do not now bear ſuch reſemblance to one another, as they did in antient times, or even ſome centuries ſince.

VARIOUS cauſes have concurred to change the political face of Europe; to ſmooth, here and there, the rough features of liberty, with which it was formerly marked; or altogether to obliterate them. The variable policy and artifices of courts; the fluctuation of manners; diviſions about ſyſtems, political and religious; the advancement of arts, navigation, and commerce; the introduction of wealth and luxury, have produced many alterations.

BY the influence of theſe and other cauſes, the temper and ſpirit of the ſeveral nations of Europe have undergone a remarkable change; and conſequently, the ſprings and principles of the antient policy are generally relaxed and varied. The modern republics are, therefore, not like thoſe of antient Greece; formed upon principles of virtue and heroiſm, and regulated by it. Our abſolute monarchies retain nothing more of the old Gothic ſyſtem; but the nominal rank and order of nobles, together with certain conſtitutional forms of law and judicature. The limited ones, which have preſerved the beſt modifications of it, and afford the fulleſt enjoyment of civil liberty, are expoſed, by the diſuſe or neglect of arms, to be inſulted from abroad; while the growing arts of luxury and corruption, much impair and endanger their domeſtic privileges.

IT is not neceſſary, however, for my deſign, to run through all the various regulations and improvements of the original plan, from which we deduce our happy conſtitution; it is better to refer the curious to the many valuable hiſtories of our country, now extant.

MY buſineſs is, to ſhew, wherein the excellency of the Britiſh conſtitution conſiſts; to demonſtrate its ſuperiority to all others in the known world; to prove that it is founded on the true principles of the

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LAW of NATURE and of NATIONS; and that, whenever any inconveniences have arisen from it, or any violent revolutions ensued, they have been owing to a deviation from its principles; and a declination to one or other of the more imperfect forms of government already delineated.

UPON the whole, I hope to make it appear, that its real imperfections, of which it has less than any other system of polity, are such only as are inseparable from every human institution, which must partake, in some degree, of the fallibility of our nature; for, *humanum est errare.*

ON

ON THE

PECULIAR ADVANTAGES

OF THE

BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

IT is evident, from what has already been advanced, that our conſtitution is a form of government compounded of the DEMOCRATICAL, ARISTOCRATICAL, and MONARCHICAL powers; rejecting the diſadvantages, and preſerving the advantages of each *.

Now its excellency conſiſts in ſuch an equal mixture of theſe three powers, as that no ONE of them ſhall be able to direct the other two, and by over-ruling, to deſtroy them: nor yet, that any TWO of them ſhould unite and combine, to enſlave, or ruin the THIRD.

To preſerve this happy equality, is the great political buſineſs of all real PATRIOTS.

THIS is not to be done by any regulations that the greateſt human foreſight and prudence can at once contrive or eſtabliſh; for as power is in its own nature unſteady, and always ſinking or riſing, and our conſtitution is compounded of three diſtinct powers, there always has been, and, while it endures, there always will be, a conteſt, more or leſs animated, between theſe three, either for ſuperiority or equality; which conteſt is ſo far from being a misfortune, that in this, the very life and ſpirit of the conſtitution triumphantly exiſts.

* All that know any thing of Britain, know that the government of it is a mixed, limited monarchy, where the ſupreme power is divided between the king and people, i. e. the lords and commons, ſince he can neither raiſe money, nor make, or annul laws without them: and thoſe laws are a rule to both; a common meaſure to him of his power, and to them of their obedience. The government is called a monarchy, becauſe that kind is predominant in the conſtitution: the king having his ſhare in the ſupreme power; and the chief, executive part, or adminiſtration, is ſingly in him. *Lord Somers's Tracts.*

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It is this conteſt, ſpringing from mutual jealouſy, that has often fruſtrated the dark deſigns of cruel, tyrannic PRINCES; of ambitious, profligate NOBLES; of turbulent, ſeditious, venal COMMONS: and has made many a rapacious miniſter, and many a rebellious ſubject, finiſh his life upon a block, or in a halter.

Nor has it ſpared the throne itſelf; for, by a peculiar felicity attending the different revolutions that have happened in England, the balance, at the expence of the crown, has always been on the ſide of liberty: and the rights and privileges of the people have been but the more firmly eſtabliſhed, in conſequence of arbitrary meaſures, tending to ſubvert them.

It is on this account, that the repeated exertions of national ſpirit, oppoſed to lawleſs and tyrannical government, which diſtinguiſh the annals of this country, will be admired and applauded in all free nations, as long as any genius for political freedom exiſts upon earth.

A SYSTEM of government, in which the power of the prince, and the rights of the people are juſtly poiſed, has been the happy reſult of the patriotic ſtruggles of our anceſtors, to preſerve and improve the antient conſtitution of the realm. In this ſyſtem, the fundamental powers of legiſlation, judicature, and the execution of the laws, are wiſely disjointed from each other: the nobles and the commons have ſeparate bodies, which regularly aſſemble, to deliberate and decide on all national and public concerns; where the voice of the nation muſt be heard and regarded, if the king's miniſters really oppreſs the ſubjects.

Though the human imagination inceſſantly hunts after novelties, and viſionary ſchemes of policy attract and flatter it more than any that ever did, or can exiſt in any ſtate, yet, even with the faireſt of thoſe productions of fancy, fabricated in the ſtudies of the learned, in different ages and countries, the Britiſh government, in its genuine purity, may be compared; and as a model of public liberty, and ſovereign authority conjoined, and guarded from exceſs on either part, by the ſtrongeſt political limitations, it will be found to rival the beſt of them.

The moſt celebrated political writers, appear to be ſo ſenſible of this truth,

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truth, that they have forſaken the old cuſtom of deviſing chimerical plans of government, and inſtead of amuſing us with ſchemes which are barely poſſible, they analyſize ſuch forms as have generally prevailed amongſt mankind; and give us their opinion, which deſerves the preference.

THUS in that moſt elaborate and univerſally admired work, MONTESQUIEU'S SPIRIT OF LAWS, we find the form of the Britiſh government exactly delineated, and given as a compendium of the moſt exalted ideas of public freedom, and national felicity.

SUCH indeed is the comparative excellence of that happy conſtitution, which the invincible ſpirit of a free people has firmly eſtabliſhed in Great Britain, that it extorts applauſe from the ſubjects of the moſt deſpotic powers; whoſe partiality, or fondneſs for the forms of government they live under, cannot reſtrain their admiration of ours, from breaking forth, as it were involuntarily, in their writings and converſations.

BUT when this political ſyſtem is conſidered by Britons as their birth-right, and as a ſplendid monument of the virtue and integrity of their anceſtors, can any ſtudy be propoſed of more importance; can any ſcience appear of greater moment, than that of its ſuperior dignity, and of the ways and means by which it is to be preſerved and tranſmitted, unimpaired, to future generations?

No better method can be adopted to mitigate party-prejudices, to reſtrain and check the growth of diſaffection and diſcontent, and to unite the minds of men in one general political creed, than a full and perfect comprehenſion of the peculiar advantages they enjoy from an equal mixture of ſovereign authority, and popular freedom, in our conſtitution.

THE contrary opinions, and unbecoming warmth ſo apt to prevail in free countries, on the ſubject of public adminiſtration, would be converted into ſober, deliberate reflection, and conſiſtent conduct; and no ſiniſter views would be blended with patriotiſm, if our youth were early made acquainted with the principles of the policy and laws of their country.

SUCH

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SUCH a branch of education is not only connected with, but muſt ſtrongly promote the love of their country; and feed the flame of undaunted valour: it will revive and ſupport declining virtue; and will train up a race of loyal ſubjects, and honeſt citizens, who will be able to combat the arguments, and fruſtrate the deſigns of the factious; to remove the prejudices of the weak and ignorant; to diſtinguiſh real from pretended grievances; to ſtate the conduct and deſigns of thoſe who are at the helm of government, with judgment and impartiality, in all popular aſſemblies; and it will inſpire them with fortitude to ſtand forth, at the peril of their lives, in the juſt defence of the religion, laws, liberty, and laudable cuſtoms of their country, when they are actually endangered by foreign enemies, or domeſtic oppreſſors.

IT is with a view to theſe important purpoſes, that I have undertaken to make the ſcience of politics, and of the Britiſh conſtitution, as the moſt material branch of it, a regular, eaſy, beneficial accompliſhment; and that I may not ſwell this Treatiſe to an unneceſſary length, I ſhall only give the general principles of the conſtitution, leaving it to the care of the aſſiduous ſtudent to apply them to the hiſtory of his country, particularly of its revolutions; and to the ſtate of public affairs, as they paſs in review before him.

OUR conſtitution giveth to the ſovereign the glorious power of commanding freemen; and to the ſubjects, the ſatisfaction of ſeeing this power ſo lodged, as that their liberties are ſecure; and thus it reconcileth dominion and liberty: the latter of which can never be loſt, but by the degeneracy of the people. So true is the maxim of that great ſtateſman LORD BURLEIGH, miniſter to queen Elizabeth. "England can hardly ever be ruined but by her own parliaments;" that is to ſay, by the repreſentatives of the people in parliament. It follows, therefore, that the free, uncorrupt election of proper repreſentatives, is the baſis of the liberty of the people; that on this alone depends thoſe limitations of the regal authority, which give our form of government the title of a regulated, mixed monarchy; and that herein lies its ſuperior excellence.

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THE neceſſity of drawing the line with great accuracy between the prerogatives and obligations of the ſovereign, and the rights of the people, muſt be ſo obvious, from the daily altercations, groſs miſrepreſentations, and abſurd reaſonings on both, which we meet with in our public prints, that I imagine it will not be unacceptable to ſee theſe points clearly, diſtinctly, and impartially ſtated, under two ſeparate heads; and as I ſhall deduce all the arguments I advance on theſe delicate ſubjects, from the principles of the conſtitution, I ſhall only give a curſory review, in this place, of the peculiar advantages we derive from the judicious choice we have made of the beſt maxims of the monarchical, ariſtocratical and democratical forms of government.

THE PREROGATIVES, and the perſonal ſafety of the KING, are ſecured by that wiſe and ſalutary maxim, "The king can do no wrong" ---and the rights and privileges of the people are aſſured, by that equally wiſe and ſalutary maxim, "That the king's expreſs order "ſhall not excuſe a ſubject for acting contrary to law; nor put a ſtop "to, or prevent the effects of an impeachment in parliament."

THE law of nature would never ſuppoſe, that a father could do wrong to his own family, over whom he had indeed a more extenſive power, than is allowed to our kings; but no command of the father, however expreſs, could excuſe his family for violating the firſt principle of ſociability---"That of not injuring another, in his perſon, his "reputation, or his property."

BUT as the prerogatives of a king are various and important, he muſt, of neceſſity, commit the exerciſe of ſome of them, to choſen ſervants; and if theſe invade the rights of his ſubjects, and he protects and ſcreens them from juſtice, in that caſe, it is agreeable to the law of nature, and to the laws of England, that HE ſhould be puniſhed for this uſurpation of illegal authority---that their crimes be imputed to him---and in this ſituation, he becomes as a private man; for, having exceeded his regal prerogative, he can no longer take ſhelter under the political maxim, "That a KING can do no wrong," as he has forfeited the title, by violating the compact which confirmed it to him, and cannot thereafter be conſidered as a public character.

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So in the ſtate of nature, if a father of a family had delegated his authority to ſervants, who beat, or killed his children, or defrauded them of their property, and had proved ſo unnatural as to protect and ſcreen ſuch ſervants from the hand of juſtice, he would no longer have been conſidered as a father, but as a petty tyrant; an invader of the common rights of humanity; one, fit only to herd with the beaſts of the foreſt, and to reſide in a ſolitary deſart; the outcaſt of human ſociety!

By our having a monarchy, which though elective in point of right, is yet hereditary by cuſtom, and not ſet aſide, but for legal incapacities, we avoid the fatal diſputes, and violent commotions, about the choice of a king, or chief governors; which often diſtract, and ſometimes deſtroy, democracies, ariſtocracies, and elective monarchies.

By the MONARCHICAL part of our conſtitution, we enjoy another advantage over republican ſtates.

As the executive part of our government, eſpecially with regard to foreign affairs, is intruſted with the king only, we thereby avoid the inconveniences and dangers which flow from the openneſs and delays of popular councils.

In all caſes of great and ſudden danger, the king becomes, of courſe, inveſted with a dictatorical power; and he even diſpenſes with eſtabliſhed laws, for the public ſafety. In ſuch caſes, the parliament, as ſoon as aſſembled, will certainly approve of what was prudently and neceſſarily done: but as this power is extremely dangerous to the conſtitution, and no true principle, or part of it, it is never to be exerciſed, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity; the exerciſe of it muſt not be continued a moment longer, than the emergency exiſts that required it; and the miniſtry or council adviſing this meaſure, muſt be reſponſible to parliament, for the actual neceſſity of the caſe.

Just apprehenſions of an approaching famine;

The immediate danger of the plague;

The diſcovery of a conſpiracy or rebellion againſt the king, or the ſtate;

The breaking out of a general conflagration; and,

The invaſion of a foreign enemy; are the principal events, which,

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in the opinion of able politicians, eſtabliſh the neceſſity of having recourſe to this alarming expedient.

By the ARISTOCRATICAL part of our conſtitution, we are ſecured againſt the ambition of our kings, as well as of private men; and the ſpirits of the people may be ſupported under the greateſt misfortunes.

Our NOBLES, by their birth and rank, are entitled to very great privileges and pre-eminence; therefore, they are, in an eſpecial manner, bound by honour and ſelf-intereſt, to preſerve our conſtitution; and muſt, upon all occaſions, be extremely jealous of every ſtep that may tend towards its overthrow.

By their education they are, or ought to be, well verſed in the ſcience of man; in the myſteries, or hidden arcana of ſtate affairs; and the rudiments of political wiſdom: from all which favourable circumſtances, it is imagined, they will always be able to make a timely diſcovery of every imminent danger, that threatens the ſubverſion of the conſtitution; and they are bound by the ſtrongeſt ties of honour and intereſt, upon all ſuch occaſions, to preſerve the juſt balance between the prerogatives of the prince, and the rights of the people: for, whenever either has preponderated, HISTORY will inform them, that the nobles have ſuffered both in dignity and eſtate.---Witneſs the troubles in the reigns of JOHN, and CHARLES I.

EQUALLY excellent is the popular, or democratical part of our conſtitution; happily blended as it is with the two former. The power of the people in making their own laws, and in calling their governors, under the king, to account, is eſtabliſhed in the moſt fixed and permanent manner; and is a check upon the monarchical and ariſtocratical part of our conſtitution, which no other country can boaſt.

Our people are not obliged to ſubmit to any law, which has not been approved by their repreſentatives; nor can any law be altered or repealed, but by their conſent.

The people have a right of aſſembling out of parliament, to inſtruct their repreſentatives; and theſe, again, have a power in parliament, to call the greateſt ſubject to account; and to proſecute his puniſhment even unto death. They have alſo the privilege to petition the KING

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for redreſs of grievances; and to remonſtrate with him, on the maladminiſtration of public affairs: but this is a right of ſo delicate a nature, that it is liable to great abuſe.

DECENTLY exerciſed, with proper decorum, and only on important and warrantable occaſions, it gives life to our laws, and ſocial liberty to the meaneſt ſubject.

IMPROPERLY uſed, it gives pain to the prince, divides the nobles, obſtructs the adminiſtration of government, and ſpreads ſedition and faction among the people.

BUT conducted with temper, by men of ſound judgment, unblemiſhed characters, and due rank and influence; the power of petitioning the throne to remove evil counſellors, and of impeaching great men in high offices, has been deemed an equal ſecurity to the king and the people.

THE moſt effectual method however, of exerciſing the fundamental rights of calling the king's miniſters to account, is by IMPEACHMENT in parliament: and indeed, ſufficient matters for impeachment ought to be in readineſs, attended with proper evidence to ſupport the articles of accuſation, before a petition or remonſtrance is carried up to the throne; for if, after a rejection of ſuch applications to the king, which cannot fail of being very diſagreeable, becauſe they arraign his judgment in the choice of his ſervants, no articles of impeachment are preſented to parliament, it gives room to imagine that the prayer of petitions and remonſtrances is not founded on facts, but on ill-grounded murmurs of the people, and ambitious or ſelfiſh views of party-leaders. It is in vain to urge that miniſterial influence will prevail in parliament, when petitions and remonſtrances are not favourably anſwered: this can be no argument againſt the exhibition of articles of impeachment of guilty miniſters; for though they ſhould be rejected, or the criminal be acquitted by court-intereſt, yet the charges would ſtand on record againſt them, in an authentic manner; and their opponents would be inconteſtably juſtified in the opinions of all honeſt men.

THE democratical, or moſt beneficial part of our conſtitution, depends entirely on the free choice of the repreſentatives of the people: free,

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free, uninfluenced, unbought elections, are its only security. For, if no selfish view predominates, the people of England have the good sense to know, that it is necessary for the security of their lives and fortunes, to chuse men of integrity and abilities. If however, bribery, in any form or shape, prevails, let the people remember, that their balance in the constitution is overset by themselves; and they have no reason to complain of the constitution itself, nor of the conduct of their representatives, be it ever so repugnant to the good of their country.

To avoid every undue influence at elections, various methods have been proposed, but none adopted: the mode of election by ballot, has often been strongly recommended, and as warmly opposed; but with no sufficient weight of argument, to counterbalance the expediency of such a disinterested, candid mode of election: and it is still the more surprizing that it is not adopted, in a case wherein the public welfare is so deeply concerned; when, at the same time, it is recommended and practised upon various occasions of less moment, as the only means of procuring impartial votes *.

The liberty of the press is another invaluable privilege, demonstrative of the excellency of our constitution.

The freedom with which people publish their sentiments on public men and measures, is a great curb to ambitious and corrupt ministers; and has most assuredly been the means, more than once, of preserving the constitution of the kingdom.

This sacred right is secured to us, by another; for as it frequently happens, that false zeal, erroneous opinions, or selfish views may induce men to abuse the liberty of the press, and to turn libellers; and on the other hand, weak and wicked ministers, may commence criminal prosecutions against those, who dare to arraign their conduct in print, the laws of our country have provided the just means of punishing the guilty, and of protecting the innocent.

* The elections of the officers and members of the Royal Society, and of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, and their decisions of premiums, bounties, &c. are all by ballot: in many other respectable bodies the same method is pursued, and no inconveniences have hitherto arisen, to bring it into disrepute.

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No man can be legally tried for this, or indeed any other offence, but by a jury of his peers, or equals.

HOWEVER therefore, crown-lawyers, and deſpotic judges, may have preſumed to take upon themſelves to determine on the nature of any crime, certain it is, "That the jury alone, have the right of this "determination; and a juryman who gives it up, on any pretence, "is a traitor to his country."

THE equal diſtribution of juſtice, preſcribed by the laws of England, which pay no perſonal regard to any man, is another perfection derived from the right of free repreſentation; and the power veſted in the people to make their own laws.

So little is this great benefit attended to, that very few, except thoſe who have travelled Europe, perceive the value of it. Yet it is a certain truth, that in all other governments, the laws partially favour perſons of high rank; and, by certain privileges annexed to their birth and titles, ſcreen them from puniſhment, when they oppreſs and injure the common people.

LITTLE more need be urged to convince my countrymen, of the preference juſtly due to our conſtitution, beyond all others in the habitable world: but it would be almoſt unpardonable not to mention the HABEAS CORPUS act; as this grand bulwark of the perſonal liberty of every individual in the realm, is peculiar to Great Britain, and is of itſelf ſufficient to juſtify our opinion; that the form of government we live under, is the beſt calculated to anſwer the great end of the inſtitution of civil ſocieties; to provide for the ſecurity, eaſe and proſperity of every individual, by the power, wiſdom and equity of the ſtate.

I SHALL, therefore, proceed to the next thing propoſed; which was to aſcertain, from the principles of the conſtitution, the prerogatives and obligations of a king of Great Britain.

ON

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ON THE

PREROGATIVES AND OBLIGATIONS

OF A

KING OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

IN all our enquiries concerning the beſt conſtituted and moſt perfect form of government, or which is the moſt excellent of all national ſettlements, there are three things that demand our particular and chief attention:

1. AUTHORITY,
2. LAW,
3. LIBERTY;

FOR thoſe governments undoubtedly deſerve the preference, wherein juſtice and liberty are firmly maintained and ſupported, by the ſtrength of a well regulated authority.

THESE three grand pillars of all wiſe governments, are ſo regularly diſpoſed in the Britiſh conſtitution, that were no attempt made to diſplace them, they would uphold the moſt noble edifice that was ever reared, the moſt ſplendid monument of human genius that was ever exhibited, till the final diſſolutions of all things.

BUT unhappily, the ambition, or imbecility of the princes who have ſwayed the ſceptre of the Britiſh empire, and the licentiouſneſs of the people, have alternately impaired the pillars of the conſtitution; and ſometimes have ſhaken the whole ſtately fabric to its very foundation.

CONVULSIONS of this kind have been lately felt; and while I am writing, the ſymptoms of our political diſeaſe ſtill remain, but the fits are

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are neither ſo frequent, nor ſo violent; perhaps an impartial analyſis* of the prerogatives and obligations of Britiſh ſovereigns, and of the rights, privileges and duties of Britiſh ſubjects, may contribute to allay the heat of miſguided popular zeal, on the one hand; and to cool the ardour for extending royal prerogatives, on the other. It may likewiſe have another happy effect; that of pointing out the method of applying a radical cure, by a clear diſcovery of the primary cauſe of the declining ſtate of our political conſtitution.

THESE, at leaſt, are the honeſt views of the author: animated by the love of his country, and regardleſs of all other applauſe, but that which virtue and honour may freely accept; and which none but the truly juſt and good can beſtow.

To mark the bounds of authority on an exact map of our conſtitution, to aſcertain the lawful prerogatives of the ſovereign, and to balance the ſcales of juſtice, are the objects of this diviſion of his Treatiſe on the Elements of Politics; and to fix the ſtandard of civil liberty ſhall be no leſs his care, in the next.

IN deſcribing the prerogatives and authority of the crown, it will be neceſſary to make a diſtinction between that power which is veſted in the crown, by the true principles of the conſtitution; and that which it has ſince acquired by accident, or by the ſubtilty of miniſters.

THE firſt, we ſhall find to be the lawful REGAL power of the crown:

THE laſt, the uſurped MINISTERIAL power of the crown.

THE exerciſe of the firſt, tends to the preſervation of our happy form of government, in its genuine purity.

THE undue influence of the laſt, to its decline, and final diſſolution.

FROM the antient hiſtories and law tracts of this kingdom, it appears, that the power of the crown did not formerly conſiſt, ſo much, in the naming of all the officers employed in the executive departments of government, as in the commanding and directing them, after they were named by the people; and this is certainly moſt agreeable to that maxim of our conſtitution, which ſuppoſes that "the

* THIS term is introduced here in the ſenſe given to it by Arbuthnot. "A ſeparation "of a compound body into its ſeveral parts."

"king

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"king can do no wrong;" becauſe if the king's orders are contrary to law, it is the duty of the officer to whom they are directed to inform him thereof; and he not only may, but ought to refuſe to execute them; and if, in ſuch caſes, he neglects, through indolence, fear, or venality, to give the king proper information; or if he executes any improper orders; it is not the king, but the officer, who, by this ſalutary maxim, "does the wrong;" and he only is puniſhable for it.

THE intention of this political rule certainly is, to put it out of the power of the king to do wrong; and to prevent him from obtaining the execution of arbitrary, illegal commands. It ſhould ſeem, however, that this deſign cannot be anſwered, unleſs the inferior officers of ſtate are nominated either by the people, or by the REGAL power of the crown: for when men are appointed to them by the MINISTERIAL power of the crown, that is to ſay, by one or two chief miniſters and favourites, it is greatly to be preſumed, that they will chooſe only ſuch men, amongſt their own friends and dependants, as ſhall be fit to carry into execution any miniſterial plans whatever.

OUR anceſtors, duly ſenſible of this truth, veſted in the crown only the right of nominating the chief officers of ſtate; while they reſerved to themſelves the privilege of electing all of inferior rank.

"THE preſent actual (miniſterial) power of the crown, in giving "places, penſions and reverſionary grants, in the degree and manner, "and to the perſons in which, and upon whom, they are every day "laviſhly beſtowed, is not an inherent original right of the crown, "but a manifeſt abuſe of part of the royal prerogative, and ſubverſive "of the principles of the conſtitution: if ſome effectual means be not "made uſe of to reſtrain this power, and reform its abuſes, it muſt "end in the deſtruction of liberty, and the eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm*."

HAVING thus drawn the line between the regal and miniſterial power of the crown, in one inſtance, to illuſtrate my preſent ſubject, I ſhall proceed to aſcertain the inviolable, indiſpenſable, regal prerogatives, which no time or circumſtance can alter, becauſe they are a

* THOUGHTS on the Conſtitutional Power and Right of the Crown, in the Beſtowal of Places and Penſions. London, printed for G. Kearſly, 1772.

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part of the conſtitution itſelf, and all the ſubjects of the realm are bound to maintain them; for they are eſſential to ſovereignty. I ſhall place them in the moſt natural order in which they follow and are dependant on each other, without regard to precedents.

THE FIRST regal prerogative of the crown, reſpects RELIGION. The Britiſh conſtitution has wiſely lodged the ſupremacy of all eccleſiaſtical concerns in the king; who is therefore ſtiled the ſupreme head of the church; and though he cannot preſcribe any particular religion or alter that which is eſtabliſhed by law, yet it is his undoubted prerogative to ſuperintend the national religion, to determine all eccleſiaſtical cauſes in perſon, or by his ſubſtitutes, and to nominate all the ſuperior officers of the church of England, as archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. He has likewiſe a right to command a due obſervance of the principal duties of the Chriſtian religion, and a regular adminiſtration of its ſacraments and ordinances.

THE SECOND prerogative of the crown, regards the laws of the country, for the good government of the people, in their domeſtic concerns.

THOUGH the king of Great Britain cannot enact laws by his own authority, he has a right to recommend ſuch as appear to him to be ſalutary; and accordingly we find him exerciſing this prerogative in his ſpeeches from the throne, and by meſſages during the ſeſſions of parliament. That, which recommended the Bill for better regulating the future Marriages of the Royal Family, now paſſed into a law, is the moſt recent example we have of the uſe and exerciſe of this prerogative; and is ſufficient to remind us, that all laws do not originate in the two houſes of parliament; ſome being ſuggeſted by the crown.

THE THIRD prerogative is the right of putting a negative on propoſed laws, after they have been carried through both houſes; by which the king, though not inveſted, ſtrictly ſpeaking, with a legiſlative power, has a right very nearly allied to it; for, by virtue of his regal authority, he can prevent the enacting of any new laws, if they appear to be detrimental to himſelf or his people; and it muſt be mentioned, to the honour of the ſovereigns of the houſe of Hanover, that

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that they have never abuſed this great prerogative, by witholding the royal aſſent from any propoſed law for the benefit of their ſubjects.

THE FOURTH prerogative inherent in the crown is, the execution of the laws; in virtue of which right, the king appoints the judges, high ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace, and other civil magiſtrates; with this exception, where the right of electing ſome magiſtrates has been veſted by any of his royal predeceſſors in corporations, by charters, ſince confirmed to them by acts of parliament; in this caſe, the elections to magiſtracy are popular, the citizens qualified by the laws of the corporation being the rightful electors of their own officers. Thus the lord mayor, aldermen, recorder, and ſheriffs of London, are choſen by the livery of the ſaid city.

"BUT though the judges of the land are choſen by the king, by "the advice of his council," ſays the great Lord Sommers, by 18 EDW. III. c. 1. "they are ſo far from depending upon the will of the king, "that they ſwear faithfully to ſerve the people as well as the king; "and to do juſtice to every man, according to the law of the land, "notwithſtanding any writs, letters, or commands received from "him: and in default thereof, they are to forfeit their bodies, lands "and goods, as in caſes of treaſon. Queen ELIZABETH, and her "councellors, preſſed the judges very hard to obey the patent under "her great ſeal, in the caſe of Cavendiſh; but they anſwered, that "both ſhe and they had taken an oath to keep the law; and if they "ſhould obey her commands, the law would not warrant them *."

THE FIFTH regal prerogative is, a power of equity veſted in the crown, in order to abate the ſeverity of laws; for, if extremities in contracts, and penalties in penal laws, ſhould be carried to the utmoſt rigour they would bear, by the letter of them, the moſt wholeſome laws might be converted to the worſt of purpoſes; to favour ſubtilty, law cunning, oppreſſion and cruelty. Our kings exerciſe this equitable prerogative by their chancellors; who, on account of this great

* SEE the Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights, Power and Prerogatives of Kings; and the Rights, Privileges and Properties of the People; by Lord Sommers. London, 1713; reprinted for J. Williams, 1771.

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and important power delegated to them by the throne, are ſtiled lord high chancellors*.

THE SIXTH is, a power to pardon the breach of criminal laws; this prerogative is ſtiled, by various writers, the brighteſt jewel of the crown; and it muſt be ſo eſteemed by every humane prince, becauſe it is a perſonal exerciſe of mercy, which often ſpares the life of a penitent criminal, and reſtores him to the community; it likewiſe inſpires love and veneration for the ſovereign, when it is exerciſed with diſcretion and impartiality.

THE SEVENTH is, a right to enforce pecuniary penalties, incurred by violations of the penal laws; and this power is exerciſed by the officers of his majeſty's court of Exchequer; into which all penalties, though levied by juſtices of the peace, and other inferior magiſtrates, are returnable.

THE EIGHTH is, the prerogative of coining money, to be the current medium of the exchanges of commodities in our mutual intercourſes with each other. The precious metals and copper, being ſtamped with the royal portrait, are made equal to the nominal value affixed on all the neceſſaries of life, and on all articles of trade. This is reputed, by many authors, to be the ſtrongeſt mark of ſupreme power that can be given; becauſe it includes a right, upon extraordinary conjunctures, of lowering the ſtandard of the current coin, ſo as to make it inferior to its nominal value. When this is done, the coin of a kingdom is only ſerviceable at home; and as it will not paſs out of the kingdom, ſuch a meaſure muſt prove highly detrimental to a commercial nation. Again, let it be obſerved, that this prerogative has never been abuſed, ſince the acceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

THE NINTH is, a power to call together, and to diſſolve all national aſſemblies and ſynods, or convocations. This prerogative has been ſo clearly made known, by the late petitions and remonſtrances from many parts of the kingdom, for the diſſolution of the preſent parliament,

* THE chancellor hath power to moderate and temper the written law, and ſubjecteth himſelf only to the law of nature and conſcience. *Cowel.*

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ment, and by the repeated refuſals of the king to exerciſe this prerogative, in compliance with the prayers of theſe petitions, that nothing more need be added on ſo public a topic of common converſation.

THE TENTH is, a power to create nobility, and to confer all titles of honour and diſtinction; (thoſe of magiſtracy in corporate towns excepted) for the king is the fountain of all honour within his realm; and none of his ſubjects have a right to claim any title by birth, but what his anceſtors have obtained or derived originally from the crown: and on the ſtrength of this prerogative, I muſt affirm, that no ſubject of Great Britain can aſſume any title, or wear any badge of honour conferred on him by foreign potentates, unleſs by expreſs permiſſion from the king, while he remains within his dominions.

THE ELEVENTH royal prerogative, is the right of entering into negociations and treaties; of declaring war, and of making peace with foreign powers, by and with the advice of his council; this is a right ſo eſſential to ſovereignty, that it cannot ſubſiſt without it*. Princes act a prudent part, when they conſult the inclinations and general intereſts of their people, in affairs of ſuch infinite conſequence; but they cannot call this right in queſtion; all that the people of England, the freeſt country on earth, can do, is to impeach the king's miniſters in parliament, if they have adviſed him to ſign diſhonourable treaties of peace, or to involve his ſubjects in unneceſſary or unjuſtifiable wars.

LASTLY, it is the king's prerogative to appoint his own ambaſſadors, and all other perſons whom he thinks proper to inveſt with public characters, in foreign nations; where they repreſent him, in the ſame manner as he repreſents his people in the eyes of foreign potentates.

THESE are all the eſſential prerogatives of a king of Great Britain, that I have been able to collect, from a careful review of the beſt authorities; and there can be no manner of doubt, that the people are bound to ſupport and defend them with as much zeal and integrity as they are to guard the municipal laws of the land, conſtituted for their peculiar benefit and protection.

* See Grotius de Jure Bel. et Pacis.

BUT

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BUT there are uſurped miniſterial prerogatives veſted in the crown by accident, and of late years confirmed by corrupt means, which endanger the very being of our excellent conſtitution; and againſt which, I am bound in honour, to enter my proteſt, after having given the preference to this conſtitution, above all others; becauſe I have proved it to be the moſt conformable to the principles of the law of nature and of nations.

A LITTLE reflection will ſoon convince every impartial man in the kingdom, that an extenſive power, unknown to the conſtitution, has imperceptibly ſtolen upon us, and eſtabliſhed itſelf in a manner equally derogatory to the regal prerogative, and to the rights of the people. Whether this power is exerciſed by good or bad men, is a matter foreign to the purpoſe: the truth is, that no ſuch uſurped authority ought to ſubſiſt; and a comparative view of the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in former times, with that of our days, will ſerve to demonſtrate, that the dignity of the crown, and the juſt rights of the ſubject, were more firmly maintained and ſecured, before this innovation in the management of public affairs took place.

THAT we may be enabled to trace the origin of this national evil, it will be neceſſary to explain the nature of the duties of thoſe principal ſtate officers,

THE firſt lord of the treaſury; and

THE firſt ſecretary of ſtate.

MY reaſon for taking this method, muſt be obvious to all who are converſant in ſtate affairs; for they will readily acknowledge that the miniſterial power of the crown, which I mean to explode, has been uſually exerciſed by one or other of theſe officers, though moſt frequently by the firſt. To render this obſervation quite ſimple to the public in general, permit me to mention, that during the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt *, this power was veſted in him as firſt ſecretary of ſtate; it has ſince reſumed its uſual ſituation; and now actually reſides with the firſt lord of the treaſury.

THE office of lord-treaſurer, now executed by commiſſioners, is to take the care and charge of all the public treaſure in the Exchequer;

* Now ſunk into Earl of Chatham.

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to iſſue all ſums voted by parliament for public uſes; to ſee that the national accounts are properly ſtated, ſo as to be laid before parliament when called for; to give in an annual eſtimate to parliament, of the ſupplies requiſite for the ordinary ſervices of the current year, in time of peace; which is called, the peace-eſtabliſhment; comprehending all the expences of the civil and military eſtabliſhments in Great Britain and her colonies: in time of war, he extends this eſtimate to the extra-ſupplies that may be requiſite for carrying on its extenſive operations; and theſe cannot be calculated with ſuch certainty as the peace-eſtabliſhment. It has been frequently the cuſtom, of late years, for parliament to grant a vote of credit to the king, by which the firſt lord of the treaſury might be enabled to raiſe an extraordinary ſum, to be applied, on any unforeſeen emergency, to the public ſervice *. It alſo falls to the lot of this officer, or the chancellor of the Exchequer, (an inferior officer, under his controul) to propoſe to parliament the means of raiſing theſe national ſupplies: beſides theſe powers, he ſometimes writes, in his own perſon, the two offices of firſt lord of the treaſury, and chancellor of the Exchequer †. All the offices of the cuſtoms and exciſe are in his gift and diſpoſal; and the officers themſelves are all ſubject to his check and controul: he nominates eſcheators in every county; and makes leaſes of all lands belonging to the crown. This is the utmoſt extent of his authority at the preſent hour; a great part of which is of modern date, having been acquired by the misfortunes of the ſtate, which have given birth to a ſwarm of revenue officers, who have extended the miniſterial influence of the firſt lord of the treaſury ſo far, that this officer is now generally conſidered as the prime miniſter of Great Britain; for he exerciſes a pleniary power equal to that of the ſole miniſter in other countries; though he

* FORMERLY he was ſaid to have the charge of the king's wealth; but ſince a certain annual revenue has been ſettled on the king for life, the funds in the Exchequer are the public treaſures of the nation; inveſted there, to be appropriated to national uſes.

† IF the firſt lord of the treaſury is a commoner, he uſually holds both poſts; but if he is a peer of the realm he cannot, becauſe the chancellor of the Exchequer mu be a commoner.---Lord North, being a member of the houſe of commons, occupies both.

cannot

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cannot openly aſſume a title not warranted by our conſtitution, and univerſally abhorred by the nation.

HITHERTO I have been ſilent concerning the diviſion of the office of lord high-treaſurer; and from what I have already advanced, many ſenſible people may imagine it unneceſſary, to mention thoſe nominal officers, the other commiſſioners, for they only multiply the number of dependants, without leſſening the authority of the ſole manager. But as ſome may be inclined to diſpute this point, I muſt be permitted to introduce an anecdote, well authenticated, to put the matter out of doubt.

"A CERTAIN firſt lord of the treaſury propoſed a meaſure to the "board, which was immediately oppoſed by one of his colleagues: "the miniſter reſented the oppoſition, and intimated that his adver- "ſary had no right to diſpute his pleaſure---'Then,' ſaid the oppoſing "lord, 'what do I ſit here for?'---'To intitle you to receive 1600*l.* "*per annum*,' replied the miniſter."

THAT this muſt always be the caſe, no man will deny, who reflects that it is in the miniſter's power inſtantly to deprive his colleague of this fine income. He has only to inform the king, that his meaſures are diſconcerted---that one of his colleagues will not draw with him---that it is impoſſible his majeſty's ſervice ſhould be carried on, "if thoſe "who eat his majeſty's bread, oppoſe his meaſures;" and if the miniſter has his royal maſter's confidence, it is very eaſy to perceive that the colleague will be diſmiſſed.

BUT great as this officer appears to be, on a review of the antient privileges of his ſtation, with all the modern adventitious advantages annexed to it, yet he neither has, nor ought to have, by virtue of his office, any excluſive influence in raiſing, or any power whatever of appropriating, the public money. His buſineſs is only to iſſue it, under the authority of legal warrants for that purpoſe: and ſo jealous have the people formerly been of the aſſumption of ſuch a power, that we have many inſtances in our hiſtory, of treaſurers being called to account for ſums wantonly and profuſely applied, though iſſued under the ſovereign's direction.

BUT

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But this uſurped miniſterial power, has, of late years, been exerciſed, by applying public monies to ſecret ſervices; and no particular account having been demanded in parliament, through the parliamentary influence of the firſt lord of the treaſury, the nation has been obliged to content itſelf with general accounts of the application of groſs ſums to public ſervices.

By means then of a ſkilful appropriation of the public money to ſecret ſervices, and of the number of places, increaſed ten fold, with the increaſe of taxes, (a ſubject which ſhall be diſcuſſed at large, in the Treatiſe on the Elements of Finances) the firſt lord of the treaſury has been enabled to extend his influence ſo as to claim the chief, if not the ſole adminiſtration of public affairs at home and abroad. Now this is contrary to the ſpirit of our conſtitution; ſubverſive of its balance, and tends to the deſtruction of the peace of mind of the ſovereign, who ſubmits to be thus manacled: a prince of a generous, noble diſpoſition cannot but perceive, that this is a ſure way to render his reign inglorious and unfortunate: for every great and good action the miniſter will attribute to himſelf; and all unconſtitutional, or unpopular meaſures, an artful miniſter will make to recoil on his royal maſter.

It is therefore a matter of great importance, to trace the origin of this political hydra; that by aſcertaining the meaſures which have been taken to rear the monſter, we may form a more accurate opinion, which is moſt probable; that we ſhall deſtroy it, or ſuffer it to work the deſtruction of our excellent conſtitution: but firſt, let us conſider attentively the nature of the office of ſecretary of ſtate; ſince we have obſerved, that the miniſterial power of the crown has occaſionally been veſted in this department.

The office of SECRETARY OF STATE, was executed by one perſon, till towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII; at which time it was divided between two: they were both held to have equal authority; and were therefore ſeverally ſtiled, "principal ſecretaries of ſtate." The correſpondence with all parts of Great Britain, was reckoned a joint concern; but with regard to foreign affairs, their offices were divided into two diſtinct provinces---the northern and the ſouthern---

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by which arrangement, the miniſters at the courts of foreign princes, and thoſe reſiding with us in public characters, from foreign nations, know to which department, the correſpondence and concerns of their reſpective countries are to be addreſſed. The ſouthern department is the poſt of moſt eminence; the line of promotion running from the north to the ſouth. The ſenior ſecretary, in point of nomination, having the ſouthern; and the junior, or laſt appointed, the northern.

THE ſecretaries of ſtate have a power, as magiſtrates, to commit perſons (by ſpecial, but not by general warrants) for treaſon, and other offences againſt the ſtate. In their hands, the petitions and requeſts of private ſubjects are frequently, and very properly lodged, to be preſented to the king; and from them anſwers may be expected officially from his majeſty. One of them is ſuppoſed always to attend the court; and, by the king's warrant, to prepare all diſpatches, commiſſions, letters and other writings, not being matters of law, for the king to ſign. The office called the paper-office, which contains all the ſtate-papers, ſuch as negociations, treaties, correſpondence with foreign miniſters; commiſſions, and inſtructions to governors, &c. in ſhort, all matters of ſtate and council, properly appertain to theſe departments.

THEY, as well as the firſt lord of the treaſury, are PRIVY COUNCELLORS; and a council is ſeldom, if ever, held without the preſence of one of them.

So far the original powers of the ſecretaries of ſtate accord with thoſe now exerciſed by theſe officers: but it has happened of late years, and eſpecially in time of war, that an enterprizing, popular man, being veſted with the office of principal ſecretary of ſtate, has been able, from the circumſtances of the nation, to monopolize the miniſterial power of the crown, and to make even the firſt lord of the treaſury act as his ſecond. We muſt, therefore, blend theſe officers together, in our propoſed enquiry into the origin and progreſs of the miniſterial power of the crown.

THIS irregular authority, ſo often aſſumed, and ſo conſtantly exerciſed with a high hand, is thus accounted for, in an excellent little pamphlet, the author unknown *.---" Certain great officers of ſtate,

* Miniſterial Uſurpation diſplayed. London, printed for J. Griffiths, 1760.

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" ſuch as the ſecretaries, the firſt lord of the treaſury, &c. by reaſon " of their places, being more immediately about the throne, naturally " received applications from ſuch as were candidates for preferment in " the diſpoſal of the crown; and when it was found that their recom- " mendations or importunities were paſſports to promotion, the ambi- " tious and neceſſitous, as naturally attached themſelves to the perſons " who held thoſe offices, and implicitly eſpouſed their intereſts; by " which means they enabled them, at length, to gain an aſcendancy " over the king and people: for theſe miniſters feeling their own " ſtrength, and finding that nothing could be granted but through " their interceſſion, began to dictate both to the crown and to parli- " ament, and to aſſume an extraordinary influence in the adminiſtration, " which our conſtitution does not authorize.

" THE hiſtory of England affords us melancholy inſtances of revo- " lutions occaſioned by this undue influence; and whenever it is exerted, " it will always adminiſter occaſion for thoſe diſcontents which ſome- " times burſt forth into all the rage of civil commotion. The conſtitution " may, by chance, recover from ſuch violent ſhocks; but it ſometimes " (as did ours in the laſt century) periſhes in the ſtruggle."

IF MINISTERS were to confine themſelves within their conſtitutional ſphere of duty, their offices would not be ſuch objects of envy; nor would the moderate power, which they might legally exerciſe, provoke ſuch furious oppoſitions as we have ſeen of late years.

BUT while one or two miniſters claim the power of nominating and creating the other great officers of ſtate, under the pretext that " they " cannot carry on the king's buſineſs without the aid and ſupport of " their own friends in office," contention will always be kept alive; and we muſt expect turbulent times, if nothing worſe enſues.

HERE then let me impreſs on your memories, an undoubted truth.

THE uſurped miniſterial power of the crown is one primary cauſe of our political diſtemperature: it has unhinged our conſtitution: it has given a bias to the balance of power; which may overſet its equilibrium.

BUT if the obligations which a king of Great Britain enters into when he aſcends the throne, are duly performed, we ſhall find in one

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of them, the proper remedy for this great evil; without having recourſe to the democratical power of the conſtitution.

In the diſcuſſion of a point ſo delicate as that of the duty of ſovereigns, it is impoſſible to be too much upon one's guard; for the eyes and ears of the numerous dependants on courts, are open to obſerve, and to ſcrutinize with extreme minuteneſs and rigour, every diſagreeable ſentiment or expreſſion, though founded on maxims of truth, virtue and honour. Beſides, preſumption and arrogance will be inſtantly laid to the charge of every private ſubject, who boldly dares to tell a king---- what he owes to his people. Others there are, who might be inclined to paſs over this part of my ſubject, without deigning to give it a perùſal, if they thought the reaſoning entirely my own. To prevent, therefore, unjuſt criticiſms on the one hand, and ſupercilious neglect on the other, I will ingenuouſly acknowledge, that in what I advance relative to the reciprocal obligations, or commerce of duties, ſubſiſting between ſovereigns and their ſubjects, I follow, almoſt ſtep by ſtep, thoſe reſpectable authorities, PUFENDORF and BURLAMAQUI; deviating only from their maxims, where I have found them incompatible with the limitations of the Britiſh monarchy, or the political freedom of Britiſh ſubjects.

The higher a ſovereign is raiſed above the level of other men, the more important are his duties: if he can do a great deal of good, he can alſo do a great deal of miſchief. It is on the good or evil conduct of princes, that the happineſs or miſery of a whole nation or people depends. How happy is the ſituation, which, on all inſtances, furniſhes occaſions of doing good to ſo many thouſands! But, at the ſame time, how dangerous is the poſt, which expoſes every moment to the injuring of millions! Beſides, the good which princes do, ſometimes extends to the moſt remote ages; as the evils they commit are multiplied to lateſt poſterity. This ſufficiently diſcovers the importance of their duties.

1. The firſt general duty of princes, is carefully to inform themſelves of every thing that falls under the complete diſcharge of their truſt: for a perſon cannot well acquit himſelf in that which he has not rightly learnt.

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It is a great miſtake to imagine that the knowledge of government is an eaſy affair; on the contrary, nothing is more difficult, if princes would diſcharge their duty. Whatever talents or genius they may have received from nature, this is an employment that requires the whole man. The general rules of governing well, are few in number; but the difficulty is to make a juſt application of them to times and circumſtances: and this demands the greateſt efforts of diligence and human prudence.

2. When a prince is once convinced of the obligation he is under to inform himſelf exactly of all that is neceſſary for the diſcharge of his truſt, and of the difficulty of getting this information, he will begin with removing every obſtacle which may oppoſe it.---And firſt, it is abſolutely neceſſary, that princes ſhould retrench their pleaſures and uſeleſs diverſions: ſo far as they may be a hinderance to the knowledge and practice of their duty. Then they ought to endeavour to have wiſe, prudent, and experienced perſons about them; and, on the contrary, to remove flatterers, buffoons, and others, whoſe whole merit conſiſts in things that are frivolous and unworthy the attention of a ſovereign. Princes ought not to chooſe for favourites, thoſe who are moſt proper to divert them; but ſuch as are moſt capable of governing the ſtate.

Above all things, they cannot guard too much againſt flattery. No human condition has ſo great an occaſion for true and faithful advice, as that of kings: and yet princes, corrupted by flattery, take every thing that is free and ingenuous, to be harſh and auſtere. They are become ſo delicate, that every thing, which is not adulation, offends them. But nothing ought they to be ſo greatly afraid of, as this very adulation; ſince there are no miſeries into which they may not be hurried by its poiſonous inſinuation. On the contrary, the prince is happy, even if he has but a ſingle ſubject, who is ſo generous as to ſpeak the truth of him; ſuch a man is the treaſure of the ſtate. Prudent ſovereigns, who have their true intereſts at heart, ought continually to imagine that court-ſycophants only regard themſelves, and not their maſter; whereas a ſincere counſellor, as it were, forgets himſelf, and thinks only on the advantage of his maſter.

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3. PRINCES ought to uſe all poſſible application to underſtand the conſtitution of the ſtate, and the natural temper of their ſubjects. They ought not, in this reſpect, to be contented with a general and ſuperficial knowledge. They ſhould enter into particulars; and carefully examine into the conſtitution of the ſtate, into its eſtabliſhment and power, whether it be old, or of late date; ſucceſſive, or elective; acquired by legal methods, or by arms; they ſhould alſo ſee how far their juriſdiction reaches; what neighbours are about them; what allies; and what ſtrength, and what conveniences the ſtate is provided with: for, according to theſe conſiderations, the ſceptre muſt be ſwayed; and the rider muſt take care to keep a ſtiffer, or ſlacker rein.

4. SOVEREIGNS ought alſo to endeavour to excel in ſuch virtues as are moſt neceſſary to ſupport the weight of ſo important a charge; and to regulate their outward behaviour, in a manner worthy of their rank and dignity.

VIRTUE, in general, conſiſts in that ſtrength of mind, which enables us not only to conſult right reaſon, on all occaſions, but alſo to follow her counſels with eaſe; and effectually to reſiſt every thing capable of giving us a contrary bias. This ſingle idea of virtue is ſufficient to ſhew how neceſſary it is to all men.

BUT none have more duties to fulfil, none are more expoſed to temptations than ſovereigns; and none, of courſe, have a greater neceſſity for the aſſiſtance of virtue. Beſides, virtue in princes has this advantge; that it is the ſureſt method of inſpiring their ſubjects with the like principles. For this purpoſe, they need only ſhew the way.

THE example of the prince has a greater force than the law. It is, as it were, a living law; of more efficacy than precept. But to deſcend to particulars:

THE virtues moſt neceſſary to ſovereigns are firſt, PIETY, which is certainly the foundation of all other virtues; but it muſt be a ſolid and rational piety, free from ſuperſtition and bigotry.

IN the high ſituation of ſovereigns, the only motive, which can moſt ſurely induce them to the diſcharge of their duty, is the fear of God.

Without

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Without that, they will ſoon run into every vice which their paſſions dictate; and the people will become the innocent victims of their pride, ambition, avarice and cruelty.

On the contrary, we may expect every thing that is good from a prince, who fears and reſpects God, as a ſupreme Being on whom he depends, and to whom he muſt one day give an account of his adminiſtration. Nothing can be ſo powerful a motive as this to engage princes to perform their duty; nothing can ſo well cure them of that dangerous miſtake; that, being above other men, they may act as abſolute lords, and as if they were not to render an account of their conduct; and be judged in their turn, after having paſſed ſentence on others.

Secondly, The love of equity and justice. The principal end a prince was made for, is to take care that every one ſhould have his right. This ought to engage him to ſtudy not only the ſcience of thoſe great civilians who aſcend to the firſt principles of law, which regulate human ſociety, and are the baſis, as it were, of government and politics; but alſo, that part of the law, which deſcends to the affairs of particular perſons.

Princes are continually talked to of valour and liberality; but if juſtice does not regulate theſe two qualities, they degenerate into the moſt odious vices: without juſtice, valour does nothing but deſtroy; and liberality is only a fooliſh profuſeneſs. Juſtice keeps all in order; and contains within bounds him who diſtributes it, as well as thoſe to whom it is diſtributed.

Thirdly, valour. But it muſt be ſet in motion by juſtice, and conducted by prudence. A prince ſhould expoſe his perſon to the greateſt perils, as often as it is neceſſary. This is a virtue which our kings will ſeldom have occaſion to exerciſe; we hope never: for domeſtic commotions may Heaven avert! and as for foreign enemies, Great-Britain will never want brave generals and admirals, to keep them at ſuch a diſtance from the ſeat of government, as to make it unneceſſary for the prince to expoſe his perſon.---I ſhall not, therefore, expatiate on this ſubject.

Fourthly,

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FOURTHLY, Another virtue, very neceſſary in princes, is to be extremely reſerved in diſcovering their thoughts and deſigns. This is evidently eſſential to thoſe who are concerned in government. It includes a wiſe diffidence, and an innocent diſſimulation.

FIFTHLY, A prince muſt, above all things, accuſtom himſelf to moderate his deſires: for as he has the power of gratifying them, if he once gives way to them, he will run to the greateſt exceſs; and by deſtroying his ſubjects, will at laſt complete his own ruin. In order to form himſelf to this moderation, nothing is more proper than to accuſtom himſelf to patience. This is the moſt neceſſary of all virtues, for thoſe who are to command. A man muſt be patient, to become maſter of himſelf, and others. Impatience, which ſeems to be a vigorous exertion of the ſoul, is only a weakneſs and inability of ſuffering pain. He who cannot wait or ſuffer, is like a perſon that cannot keep a ſecret: both want reſolution to contain themſelves. The more power an impatient man has, the more fatal his impatience will be to him: he will not wait; he gives himſelf no time to judge; he forces every thing to pleaſe himſelf; he tears off the boughs, to gather the fruit before it is ripe; he breaks down the gates, rather than ſtay till they are opened to him.

SIXTHLY, Goodneſs and clemency are alſo virtues very neceſſary to a prince. His office is to do good; and it is for this end, the ſupreme power is lodged in his hand. It is alſo principally by this that he ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf.

SEVENTHLY, Liberality, well underſtood, and well applied, is ſo much the more eſſential to a prince, as avarice is a diſgrace to a perſon to whom it coſts almoſt nothing to be liberal. To take it exactly--- A king, as a king, has nothing properly his own; for he owes his very ſelf to others. But, on the other hand, no perſon ought to be more careful in regulating the exerciſe of this noble virtue. It requires great circumſpection; and ſuppoſes, in the prince, a juſt diſcernment, and a good taſte, to know how to beſtow and diſpenſe favours on proper perſons --- He ought, above all things, to uſe this virtue, for rewarding genuine merit.

BUT

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BUT liberality has its bounds, even in the moſt opulent princes. The ſtate may be compared to a family: the want of foreſight, profuſion of treaſure, and the voluptuous inclination of princes, who are the maſters of it, do more miſchief than the moſt ſkilful miniſters can repair.

A PRUDENT œconomy, on the contrary, ſupplies the deficiencies of the revenue, maintains families and ſtates, and preſerves them in a flouriſhing condition. By œconomy, princes not only have money in time of need, but alſo poſſeſs the hearts of their ſubjects; who freely open their purſes, upon any unforeſeen emergency, when they ſee that the prince has been ſparing in his expences: the contrary happens, when he has ſquandered away his treaſures.

THUS have I given a general idea of the virtues moſt neceſſary to a ſovereign; beſides thoſe which are common to him with private people; and of which ſome are included even in thoſe we have been mentioning. Cicero follows almoſt the ſame ideas in the enumeration he makes of the royal virtues.

IT is by the aſſiſtance of theſe virtues, that ſovereigns are enabled to apply themſelves, with ſucceſs, to the functions of government; and to fulfil the different duties of it.---Let me now add a few remarks concerning the actual exerciſe of thoſe duties.

THERE is a general rule, which includes all the duties of a ſovereign; and by which he may eaſily judge how to proceed, under every circumſtance.--Let the ſafety of the people be the ſupreme law.--This ought to be the chief end of all his actions. The ſupreme authority has been conferred upon him with this view; and the fulfilling of it is the foundation of his right and power. The prince is properly the ſervant of the public. He ought, as it were, to forget himſelf, in order to think only on the advantage and good of thoſe whom he governs. He ought not to look upon any thing as uſeful to himſelf, which is not ſo to the ſtate. This was the idea of the heathen philoſophers. They define a good prince, one who endeavours to render his ſubjects happy; and a tyrant, on the contrary, one who aims only at his own private advantage.---I ſhall, from this general rule, deduce thoſe obligations which are of a more particular nature.

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THE functions of government relate either to the domeſtic intereſts of the ſtate, or to its foreign concerns.

WITH reſpect to the domeſtic intereſts of the ſtate, the chief care of the ſovereign ought to be,

FIRST, To form his ſubjects to good manners. For this purpoſe, it is the duty of ſupreme rulers, not only to preſcribe good laws, by which every one may know how he ought to behave, in order to promote the public good; but eſpecially to eſtabliſh the moſt perfect manner of public inſtruction, and of the education of youth. This is the only method of making the ſubjects conform to the laws, both by reaſon and cuſtom; rather than through fear of puniſhment.

2. THE ſovereign ought to eſtabliſh good laws for the ſettling of ſuch affairs, as the ſubjects have moſt frequent occaſion to tranſact with each other. Theſe laws ought to be juſt, equitable, clear, without ambiguity and contraction, uſeful, accommodated to the condition and the genius of the people, at leaſt, ſo far as the good of the ſtate will permit; that, by their means, differences may be eaſily determined: but they are not to be multiplied without neceſſity.

3. IT would be of no uſe to make good laws, if people were ſuffered to violate them with impunity. Sovereigns ought therefore, to ſee them properly exeeuted; and to puniſh the delinquents, without exception of perſons, according to the quality and degree of the offence.

IT is even ſometimes proper to puniſh ſeverely at firſt. There are circumſtances in which it is clemency to make ſuch early examples, as ſhall ſtop the courſe of iniquity. But what is chiefly neceſſary, and what juſtice and the public good abſolutely require, is, that the ſeverity of the laws be exerciſed not only upon the ſubjects of moderate fortune and condition, but alſo upon the moſt wealthy and powerful. It would be unjuſt, that reputation, nobility, and riches, ſhould authorize any one to inſult thoſe who are deſtitute of theſe advantages. The populace are often reduced by oppreſſion to deſpair; and their fury at laſt throws the ſtate into convulſions.

SINCE men firſt joined in civil ſocieties, to ſcreen themſelves from the

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the injuries and malice of others, and to procure all the ſweets and pleaſures which can render life commodious and happy; the ſovereign is obliged to hinder the ſubjects from wronging each other; and to maintain order and peace in the community, by a ſtrict execution of the police-laws; to the end, that his ſubjects may obtain the advantages which mankind reaſonably propoſed to themſelves by joining in ſociety.

MR. DE LA BRUIERE has a fine paſſage upon this ſubject.

"WHAT would it avail me, or any of my fellow-ſubjects, that my "ſovereign was ſucceſsful and crowned with glory, that my country "was powerful and the terror of neighbouring nations, if I were "forced to lead a melancholy and miſerable life, under the burthen "of oppreſſion and indigence---If, while I was ſecured from the "incurſions of a foreign enemy, I found myſelf expoſed at home, to "the ſword of an aſſaſſin; and was leſs in danger of being robbed or "maſſacred in the darkeſt nights, in a thick foreſt, than in the public "ſtreets---If ſafety, cleanlineſs, and good order, had not rendered "living in towns ſo pleaſant, and had not furniſhed them not only "with the neceſſaries, but moreover with all the ſweets and conve-"niencies of life---If, being weak and defenceleſs, I were encroached "upon in the country, by every neighbouring great man---If ſo good "a proviſion had not been made to protect me againſt his injuſtice---"If I had not at hand ſo many, and ſuch excellent maſters, to educate "my children in thoſe arts and ſciences which will one day make their "fortune---If the conveniency of commerce had not made good "ſubſtantial ſtuffs for my cloathing, and wholeſome food for my "nouriſhment; both plentiful and cheap---If, to conclude, the care "of my ſovereign had not given me reaſon to be as well contented "with my fortune, as his princely virtues muſt needs make him with "his?"

5. SINCE a prince can neither ſee nor do every thing himſelf, he muſt have the aſſiſtance of miniſters: but as theſe derive their whole authority from their maſter, all the good or evil they do, may be finally imputed to him. It is therefore the duty of ſovereigns to chuſe perſons of integrity and ability for the employments with which

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they entruſt them. They ought often to examine their conduct; and to puniſh or recompenſe them, according to their merits. In fine, they ought never to refuſe to lend a patient ear to the humble remonſtrances and complaints of their ſubjects, when they are oppreſſed and trampled on by miniſters and ſubordinate magiſtrates.

6. With regard to ſubſidies and taxes, ſince the ſubjects are not obliged to pay them, but as they are neceſſary to defray the expences of the ſtate, in war, or peace; the ſovereign ought to exact no more than the public neceſſities, or the ſignal advantage of the ſtate, ſhall require. He ought alſo to ſee that the ſubjects be incommoded as little as poſſible by the mode of levying the taxes laid upon them. There ſhould be a juſt proportion in the tax of every individual; and there muſt be no exception or immunity, which may turn to the diſadvantage of others. The money collected, ought to be laid out to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate; and not to be waſted in luxury, undeſerved penſions, or vain magnificence.

7. It is the duty of a ſovereign to draw no farther ſupplies from his ſubjects than he really ſtands in need of: the wealth of the ſubjects forms the ſtrength of the ſtate; and the advantage of families and individuals. A king, therefore, ought to neglect nothing that can contribute to the preſervation and increaſe of the riches of his people. For this purpoſe, he ſhould ſee that they draw all the profit they can from their lands, ſeas, commerce, arts, and manufactures; and that they keep themſelves always employed in ſome induſtrious exerciſe or other. He ought to further and promote the mechanic arts; and give all poſſible encouragement to commerce. It is likewiſe his duty to bring his ſubjects to a frugal method of living, by good ſumptuary laws, which may forbid ſuperfluous expences; eſpecially when the wealth of the natives is tranſlated, by means of exceſſive luxury, to foreigners.

Lastly, It is the intereſt and duty of a ſupreme governor, to guard againſt factions and cabals; from whence ſeditions and civil wars eaſily ariſe. But, above all, he ought to take care that none of his ſubjects place a greator dependance, even under the pretext of ſuperior

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ſuperior political talents, on any other power, either within or without the realm, than on his lawful ſovereign.

THIS, in general, is the law of the public good, in regard to the domeſtic intereſts, or internal tranquility of the ſtate.

As to foreign concerns, the principal duties of the king are,

1. To live in peace with his neighbours, as much as he poſſibly can.

2. To conduct himſelf with prudence, in regard to the alliances and treaties he makes with other powers.

3. To adhere faithfully to the treaties he has made.

4. NOT to ſuffer the courage of his troops to be enervated; but, on the contrary, to maintain and augment it by good diſcipline.

5. IN due and ſeaſonable time, to make the preparations neceſſary to put himſelf in a poſture of defence.

6. NOT to undertake any unjuſt or rath war.

LASTLY, Even in times of peace, to be very attentive to the deſigns and motions of his neighbours.

HAPPY will be the prince, wherever he reigns, who follows theſe general principles of obligation on his part; and highly meritorious the ſubjects, who, animated with a ſenſe of his tranſcendent goodneſs, take the greateſt care not to infringe his juſt prerogatives; but, on the contrary, ſedulouſly ſtudy to perform all the duties of loyal, good ſubjects. For, on a virtuous adherence to the reciprocal engagements between ſovereigns and their ſubjects, is founded that national union and concord, which raiſes the renown, and eſtabliſhes the proſperity of nations.---And it is to be obſerved, that every juſt rule of conduct laid down for princes and ſubjects in general, is more particularly binding on Britiſh kings, and the people they govern.

ON

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ON THE *RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES* OF BRITISH SUBJECTS; AND THE *Duties they owe their Sovereigns, and their Country.*

IN treating of the origin of governments, I have made it appear, that CIVIL LIBERTY was the baſis of their inſtitution; and that the freedom of individuals, ſecured by the wiſdom and integrity of the community, was ever the grand object of all wiſe and honeſt legiſlators.

IT has likewiſe been clearly proved, that theſe maxims are the ground-work of the Britiſh conſtitution; and that its ſuperior excellency in compariſon with all other forms of government, conſiſts in the juſt limitation of the prerogatives of the crown; and the firm ſecurity of the freedom of individuals, provided for by the wiſdom and integrity of the community.

THESE are the bleſſings attributed by all foreign writers to the authority of our parliaments; for they are the bulwarks of civil liberty; and it is from the virtuous exerciſe of the powers veſted in theſe ſupreme councils of the nation, that we are to look for the full enjoyment of all the advantages derived from the exchange of NATURAL for CIVIL LIBERTY*. And from the ſame quarter we muſt expect a diſſolution of our happy conſtitution, if an improper uſe is made of the important truſts depoſited in the hands of the repreſentatives of the people in parliament: for the power of making, altering and repealing the laws, properly exerciſed, is the rock on which the freedom of this country may ſtand ſecure for ages; but if this is perverted to ſuch a

* SEE page 243.

point,

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point, that either bad laws are enacted, or the good are not enforced, ſo that the people may be oppreſſed with impunity, it is eaſy to perceive, that it will ſap the foundation, and ruin the noble ſuperſtructure

FROM CIVIL LIBERTY, the ſource of the rights of the ſubjects in all free ſtates, we may deduce the firſt, the fundamental right of BRITONS, on which all the reſt abſolutely depends.

1. THE right of repreſentation. This is ſo clear and indiſputable, that, in the moſt arbitrary reigns, it has never been diſputed: but the ſecond right of the people, though as clear and poſitive, has been ſo often ſuſpended, infringed or violated at different periods of our hiſtory, that it will require a more ample illuſtration.

2. THE right of an entire freedom in the election of perſons, qualified by the laws of the land, to ſerve in parliament.

THE enjoyment of this right is implied in the very term REPRESENTATIVE; for with what propriety can he be ſtiled the repreſentative of the people, who is not freely elected and deputed as ſuch by them?

As this freedom of elections has for many ages been deemed a vital part of our conſtitution, our old laws provided amply for its eſtabliſhment and ſecurity; after many inſtances had occurred of the bad effects of violating it*. In fact, it is ſo abſolutely eſſential to the conſtitution of parliaments, that their acts cannot be valid, nor accounted to be the ſtatutes of the realm, without it.

YET, from the date of MAGNA CHARTA, in the reign of King John, and notwithſtanding the ſubſequent confirmations of it, with additions, under Henry III, and Edward I, this great right was held by precarious tenures, and was never fully aſcertained and declared, till the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION; when it was firmly eſtabliſhed by the BILL of RIGHTS.

THOUGH much has been ſaid and written concerning this clear and full declaration of the rights and privileges of the people of Great Britain, there ſeems to be room left for a proper explanation of its

* ELECTIONS ſhall be freely and duly made—no great man, or other, by force of arms, nor by malice, or menacing, ſhall diſturb any to make free election.

Statutes of Weſtminſter, A. D. 1274.

origin,

origin, importance and good effects; and I am confirmed in this opinion, by the many misrepresentations and errors I have seen in print concerning it: for which reason, as it is the standard of our political freedom, it may not be improper to give an accurate account of the motives for insisting on this declaration at the Revolution---to shew that, before that æra, the people of this country had not the full enjoyment of their constitutional freedom---to demonstrate that it was firmly established by the bill of rights---and to prove that, if any encroachments have been since made on the rights and privileges therein ascertained, it has been owing more to the misconduct of the people, than to any other cause whatever.

A BRIEF abstract from the History of England, is indispensably requisite in this place; to enable us to draw the line between antient and modern liberty; and it is probable, this exhibition may either make men more temperate, and better satisfied than they in general seem to be, with the present times; or convince them, that the remedy for their distemperature is in their own hands.

BEFORE the Restoration, the people enjoyed little more than the shadow of political freedom. In proof of this assertion, let us review the annals of the preceding dynasty of our sovereigns from the Conquest.

DURING the government of the Norman line, the right of conquest prevailed, which admits no claim of popular freedom; and the people were too much weakened by intestine divisions, to expose themselves to any fresh misfortunes in opposing arbitrary power; their purses were drained, their numbers thinned, and their spirits broken; to add to their misfortune, their sovereigns, intent on fixing a title held by so precarious a right as that of conquest, invited over foreign families, who strengthened the power of the crown, and lorded over the natives; so that, in this situation of affairs, the people submitted to every imposition; being unable either to dispute or to resist the will of these tyrants. It is true, these princes promised their subjects, in order to make them acquiesce under their usurpations, that they would restore those rights and privileges which they enjoyed under the Saxon form of government before the Conquest; but when they were once securely seated in the throne, they forgot all their oaths and fair speeches.

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In the reign of Henry II, the firſt ſovereign of the line of Plantagenet, the power of the crown was more limited; but the people derived no benefit from this circumſtance; for while eccleſiaſtical diſputes and family quarrels weakened and diſturbed his adminiſtration, the grievances the people had laboured under, were continued, through inattention, and the confuſion of the court.

To him ſucceeded that enthuſiaſtical warrior RICHARD I, who exhauſted the treaſure of his kingdom, and laviſhed the blood of his ſubjects, for the greater glory, as he fooliſhly thought, of God.

In the next reign, a conteſt aroſe between the king and his barons, of little conſequence to the people; for the latter, who had tyrannized over them in their reſpective diſtricts, only wanted to eſtabliſh an ariſtocracy, at the expence of royalty; while Richard II, on the other hand, ſtruggled hard to be the ſole tyrant of the land.

The long adminiſtration of Henry III. exhibited various ſcenes: ſome in favour of an unjuſt, oppreſſive king; others equally advantageous to a turbulent nobility; and one in ſupport of an ambitious, pretended patriot, the Earl of Leiceſter; who procured the inſtitution, in this reign, of the right of repreſentation, as the only ſecurity for the liberties and privileges of the people: but no real advantage was gained by this ſeeming acquiſition, for it was only made uſe of to eſtabliſh the power of their party-leader.

To HENRY III. ſucceeded Edward I, a good man, and a great king---but as I do not mean to advert to any point in any reign, but that alone of civil liberty, I paſs over all his glorious military exploits, and only obſerve---that the power of the crown was not bounded by any act, in favour of the rights of the people; but, at the ſame time, they had this conſolation---it was not abuſed.

EDWARD III. was a great prince, and England flouriſhed under his adminiſtration; but even the glory which his valour acquired, was dangerous to the nation; for though it raiſed its renown, yet it might have ended in its ruin; for the only difference ultimately between France being conquered by England, or England by France, would have been, that, in the former caſe, both kingdoms would have been

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governed by an Engliſh, and in the latter, by a French, king. If the power of England had prevailed, the ſeat of empire would have been in France, and this country might have groaned beneath the tyranny of a vice-roy; if France had prevailed, it would have been a province to that kingdom: and under either of theſe ſituations, there was no proſpect of freedom for the people; nor did they experience any advances towards civil liberty in this reign, ſolely taken up with the ardent purſuits of war and conqueſt.

RICHARD II. had an opportunity of ſeeing the ſpirit of the nation; and, had he taken warning by the bold, but raſh attempt, of a tumultuous mob, headed by an intoxicated leader, whoſe preſumption and arrogance overthrew his whole plan, he might have had a proſperous reign: but this ſtruggle for liberty, ſo badly concerted, and ſo impoliticly conducted, was no ſooner ended, than the weak, luxurious monarch, diſplayed his tyrannical diſpoſition; and the ſubſequent part of his reign was a ſeries of confuſion and oppreſſion; which terminated in his depoſition, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſagacious uſurper, HENRY IV, of Lancaſter, under whom the people were indeed leſs irritated by domeſtic oppreſſions, through the unſettled ſituation of the crown; which made this prince cautious of offending his new ſubjects; but they were not more free, for the nation had not a reſerved power to limit his diſburſements, nor thoſe of his glorious ſucceſſor HENRY V.

IN the following reign were commenced the fatal diſputes between the houſes of Lancaſter and York; which continued through the reigns of HENRY VI, EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, and RICHARD III, during which long ſpace of more than ſixty years, the people were ſo far from enjoying any freedom, that they never once thought of it; on the contrary, their whole ambition conſiſted in fighting for a maſter; and they no ſooner got rid of the yoke of one, than they voluntarily ſubmitted to another; ſo that it was an eaſy matter for HENRY VII, coming to the crown with a fair title, and the general voice of the nation, to avail himſelf of the ſlaviſh diſpoſition which had pervaded all ranks of the people. He knew they would ſubmit to any impoſition, rather than renew the horrors of

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of civil-war; and, being of a moſt avaricious temper, by a courſe of injuſtice, violence and rapine, attended with circumſtances of cruelty, from the miniſters of his extortions, he made his reign as dangerous and uneaſy to himſelf, as it was odious and oppreſſive to his ſubjects.

HENRY VIII. it is well known, governed the kingdom in the moſt arbitrary manner; by intimidating his councellors and parliaments, till he made both ſo entirely ſubſervient to his will and pleaſure, that they countenanced, ſupported, and attempted to legalize every act of public or private cruelty and injuſtice, he thought proper to commit. Yet to this prince we ſtand indebted for the foundation on which the noble ſuperſtructure of public liberty was erected in after ages; for without the Reformation, this kingdom moſt probably would ſtill have groaned beneath the weight of eccleſiaſtical and civil tyranny.

THE pride and weakneſs of the Protector Somerſet, and the wicked ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, ſucceſſively harraſſed the kingdom during the ſhort reign of EDWARD VI. But it muſt not be forgot, that the benefits we derive from the Reformation, we owe, in a great meaſure, to the Duke of Somerſet, who completed the eſtabliſhment of the church of England.

MARY, a devout woman, but a moſt execrable tyrant, ſucceeded her brother; and conſigned over her authority to eccleſiaſtical furies, who daily embrued their hands in the blood of her unfortunate ſubjects. In this reign not a dawn of political freedom appeared; but men were butchered for preſuming to claim the natural rights of men---for thinking, ſpeaking and acting according to the dictates of their conſciences.

ELIZABETH, her ſucceſſor, was a princeſs of a different complexion; with an underſtanding and intrepidity ſuperior to her ſex, ſhe governed her ſubjects wiſely; increaſed the renown and ſplendor of her dominions; gave new life to commerce, arts and manufactures, and ſtudied the intereſt of the body politic; but every ſtep ſhe took for the public welfare, was as abſolutely without the conſent of the people, as any of the moſt prejudicial meaſures in the reigns of her predeceſſors. She

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was fond of prerogative, and carried it to a greater extent than her father; but with the ſame deſpotic diſpoſition, ſhe proved an excellent ſovereign; for ſhe had the judgment and integrity to make a right uſe of the power ſhe uſurped over the conſtitution; and the beneficial manner in which ſhe exerciſed it, ſilenced all oppoſition.

She invaded the privileges of the people moſt notoriouſly; often ſending for the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and telling him not only what ſhe would or would not ſuffer to be done, but alſo what ſhe would or would not allow to be ſaid: when ſhe wanted money, ſhe told him ſhe would have it; and that there ſhould be no debates on that ſubject. She ordered her chancellor to inform the houſe of commons, that they had no right to judge of returns in elections. She impriſoned members of parliament by her own authority---forbid ſome bills to be read in the houſe---ordered that others ſhould not be debated there; and refuſed the royal aſſent twice, to above thirty bills that had paſſed both houſes. I am the more particular in ſtating theſe circumſtances, becauſe they muſt be brought in evidence, to prove that the people of this kingdom knew not the full enjoyment of civil liberty till the Revolution. In other reſpects, her adminiſtration was truly glorious, and cannot be ſufficiently extolled.

James I, the pregenitor of the equally unfortunate and undeſerving race of STUARTS, ſucceeded this illuſtrious queen; of him, and his ſon, over whoſe cataſtrophe we wiſh to draw a veil, little more need be ſaid, than that, without the abilities of Elizabeth, or either the fortitude or integrity to purſue the national intereſt, they made it their ſole ſtudy and employment to keep up the royal prerogative; and fooliſhly imagined, that the people would ſubmit to the ſame extenſion of the miniſterial, uſurped power of the crown, when exerciſed in acts tending to the diſgrace and total ruin of the kingdom, as they had acquieſced under, when employed for its honour and proſperity.

With reſpect to the adminiſtration of CROMWELL, we muſt do juſtice to his management of the foreign concerns of the nation; which was never more reſpected in all parts of the world, than in his time. Commerce, and the political intereſts of England, were firmly ſupported

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ported by the valour of his arms, and the wiſdom of his councils; but domeſtic liberty ſuffered very near as much from him and his adherents, as from the man whom he put to death for extending the power of the crown beyond its legal limits. In fact, nothing but the arbitrary conduct of Cromwell, and the long parliament, could have paved the way for the reſtoration of the ſon of the very oppreſſor, who had been depoſed by the general voice of the people.

THE RESTORATION of CHARLES II. ſhould have been the æra of political freedom; for a wandering exiled prince, who could have but little hopes of ever aſcending the throne of his unfortunate father, would have ſubmitted to almoſt any conditions, if the negociation had been timely and properly conducted: inſtead of which, he was conducted to the throne, amidſt the miſguided acclamations of a nation too fond of the tinſel of majeſty, and ſtrongly biaſſed in favour of monarchical government; with the reſtoration of which, they were ſo charmed and intoxicated, that they neglected to provide the proper remedies by law againſt the revival of thoſe grievances which had ſubſiſted in the time of CHARLES I; and if Lord Clarendon had not been a true friend to his country, the reſtored king would have been enabled to govern without a parliament, at leaſt in time of peace; for it was propoſed to ſettle two millions annually on him for life, to defray the expences of the adminiſtration of his government; and to enable him to ſupport the dignity of the crown. By the integrity of this miniſter, England was once more preſerved from deſpotic rule; and the ſun of liberty began to riſe; ſome wiſe and beneficial laws being made at this time, in favour of the ſubjects: but this bright effulgence was ſoon overcaſt; other men were conſulted, and oppoſite meaſures purſued; the intereſt of the king's brother predominated; a ſtorm hovered over the nation, which burſt in the following reign, and had nearly accompliſhed the total diſſolution of civil and religious freedom.

JAMES II. having laid the foundation of his conſpiracy againſt the ſtate ſecurely, as he thought, in the life-time of Charles, whom he had perſwaded to govern without a parliament for the three laſt years

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of his reign, on his own acceſſion threw off the maſk, grew impatient for the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the extirpation of the proteſtant religion; but by the haſty ſtrides he took to arbitrary power, as a means of accompliſhing his infamous deſigns, providentially for theſe kingdoms, he brought on his own ruin; and that glorious revolution which firmly eſtabliſhed thoſe rights and privileges which give to Britons a pre-eminence above the ſubjects of all other ſtates in the known world.

THE declaration of the rights and privileges of the people, called the BILL of RIGHTS, which the prince and princeſs of Orange were obliged to acknowledge and accept, before the crown was tendered to them, effectually drew the line between the regal prerogative and the public liberty of the nation; it ſettled all thoſe diſputable points which had been the objects of warm contention, and the ſources of inteſtine commotions in former times, as the power of the prince or of the people had prevailed at different æras.

THE claims of LIBERTY and PREROGATIVE had been abuſed both by the ſovereigns and the people, as opportunity favoured the arbitrary views of the rulers, or the licentious diſpoſition of the ruled.

ON the one hand, the ſovereign had called every thing his prerogative, that his ambition induced him to arrogate to himſelf; that his ſtrength enabled him to ſeize; or that either the weakneſs, or the ſervility of his ſubjects, allowed him to poſſeſs.

ON the other, whatever encroachments were made by the people on the prerogative, went under the denomination of maintaining their liberties; every point they gained on the crown, ſtimulated by their own reſolution and vigour, or encouraged by the indolence and ſupineneſs of the ſovereign, was only called aſſerting antient privileges, and reviving former rights: and thus both king and people were like the two contending parties deſcribed by D'AVILA *. The greateſt misfortune, therefore, that can happen to a country, under a mixed form of government like ours, is to have the diſtricts of the conſtituent parts of

* *Come foſſe ſempre neceſſario o offendere, o eſſe offeſſo*—as if it was always neceſſary to injure or be injured. *Iſtoria della guerra civilta di Franeia.*

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that government ſo indiſtinctly known or underſtood, that thoſe who ſhould be the joint promoters of the public welfare, are more concerned about contentions for power and privileges, than for the real intereſt of the nation, which muſt always languiſh and decline during theſe ſtruggles, fomented by jealouſy, ambition, and mercenary views.

SINCE then no mixed government can be free, permanent and peaceable, but where the particular juriſdictions of its ſeveral conſtituent powers are clearly deſcribed, and the boundaries of each diſtinctly circumſcribed; we may venture to pronounce, that the political freedom of Great Britain, did not arrive at any degree of perfection, till the BILL of RIGHTS was admitted; and further limitations on the crown were made by the act of ſettlement, which placed the houſe of Hanover on the throne.

THE rights and privileges of the people thus aſcertained and firmly ſecured, are contained in the following articles, which are copied from the celebrated BILL of RIGHTS; and as they give a full idea of the political principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, they are entitled to a place in our general Elements of Politics.

1. THE pretended power of ſuſpending laws, and the execution of laws, by regal authority, without conſent of parliament, is illegal.

2. LEVYING of money for or to the uſe of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is illegal.

3. IT is the right of the ſubjects to petition the king; and all commitments and proſecutions for ſuch petitioning, is illegal.

4. THE raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army within the kingdom in time of peace, unleſs it be with conſent of parliament, is againſt law.

5. SUBJECTS who are Proteſtants, may have arms for their defence, ſuitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

6. ELECTIONS for members of parliament ought to be free.

7. FREEDOM of ſpeech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned, in any court or place out of parliament.

8. EXCESSIVE bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel nor unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

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9. JURORS ought to be duly impanelled and returned; and jurors which paſs upon men in trials of high treaſon, ought to be freeholders.

10. ALL grants and promiſes of fines and forfeitures of particular perſons before conviction, are illegal and void.

11. AND for redreſs of all grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

THERE are two other articles which are ſpecial, referring to particular uſurpations of illegal power by JAMES II.

WE need not expatiate on theſe obvious privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, ſome of which have been noticed in former pages: it is in this place, however, that I beg leave to repeat my aſſertion, that the whole plan of civil and religious liberty in Britain, depends entirely on the ſixth article; and that if this is violated, either by the crown, or by the people, the balance of our conſtitution is overturned, and a moſt effectual ſtep taken to tear it up by the roots.

THAT the freedom of elections has been frequently violated ſince the Revolution, particularly in the latter part of the reign of Queen Ann, and ſince that time, by the miniſterial power of the crown, is beyond a doubt; but give me leave to obſerve, that the baſeſt, the worſt kind of ſubverſion of this right, moſt frequently happens on the part of the people, who beſtow their votes on unworthy perſons, either through ſelfiſh, or partial principles.

THIS is that foul treaſon againſt the conſtitution, which ſaps its foundation, while it firmly eſtabliſhes the illegal encroachments of the miniſterial power of the crown.

LET us then, in the next place, fairly ſtate the ſeveral duties which Britiſh ſubjects owe to their king and country; in doing which, I hope to make it evident, that he, who wilfully tranſgreſſes his duty to his country, is more culpable than the very worſt adminiſtration, of whoſe miſmanagement he is the primary cauſe.

GOVERNMENT and ſovereignty are eſtabliſhed by mutual agreement betwixt the governor and the governed; and juſtice requires that the people ſhould be faithful to their engagements. It is, therefore, the

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firſt duty of all ſubjects in general to keep their word; and religiouſly to obſerve their contract with their ſovereign, ſo long as he duly performs his obligations to the community.

On this principle then, they are bound to maintain the dignity of his crown; to preſerve a reſpect and veneration for his public and private character; to be faithful to him as their ſupreme head, and to venerate and eſteem him as a man: in his public character we muſt even go one ſtep further: if by the general tenour of his conduct he ſhews himſelf to be the father of his people, we certainly owe him filial affection and obedience: our duty to our king and country, when ſuch a prince is on the throne, cannot be diſunited; it is, in fact, one and the ſame thing; and every ſubject in the realm is bound in conſcience, in honour, by the laws of nature, and by the inſtitutes of civil ſociety, bravely to ſacrifice, if occaſion requires it, his fortune, his private intereſts, and even his life, for the preſervation of his ſovereign; for under ſuch circumſtances he only diſcharges the duty he owes his country.

It is the duty of the ſubjects of a good king, to ſupport the legal prerogatives of the crown; for the glory of a prince and of a nation, when it is equitably governed, riſe or fall together in the opinions of foreign powers. We muſt not, therefore, lightly or wantonly arraign his conduct, in the exerciſe of thoſe moſt eſſential prerogatives, the rights of war and peace, of negociations, treaties, alliances, and other concerns of a foreign nature. Theſe muſt not be cenſured, much leſs publickly condemned, but upon the ſureſt grounds; for it is very eaſy to wound a nation, and weaken its intereſts, through the ſides of the prince; and for this reaſon, though the preſs ought to be as free as the air, I cannot but think him a traitor to his country, who, in the heat of party zeal, publiſhes articles of accuſation againſt the ſovereign and his miniſters, on ſuch important points, which he cannot maintain beyond a doubt by incontrovertible facts, by the cleareſt evidences, and by the ſoundeſt political deductions. From theſe premiſes, it appears that the pen of a party-writer in Great Britain, may prove a dagger to his country, in the hands of her foreign enemies; and I muſt own, I have always

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conſidered accurate details of the miſmanagement of the finances, or of the navy and army departments, when the publiſhers of them have been ſo minute as to enter into arithmetical evidence, in the moſt unfavourable right; having experienced the pernicious conſequences of the circulation of ſuch performances out of the kingdom, as were fit only for debates and proceedings in parliament.

It is incompatible with the duty of a good ſubject, to ſpeak diſreſpectfully or indecently of his ſovereign, or his family; or to ridicule his foibles, and the frailties to which he is liable in common with all other men; I ſhould even imagine, that we are bound to ſilence upon theſe occaſions, if, in his public capacity, he governs the nation with wiſdom, equity and mercy. All ſarcaſms, illiberal ſatires, and indelicate reflections, aimed at private perſons, are ſharply reſented by individuals poſſeſſed of any degree of ſpirit. How grating then muſt ſuch behaviour be to a ſovereign, who is conſcious that he cannot, with propriety, condeſcend to ſhew any viſible tokens of diſpleaſure under theſe circumſtances! and how unworthy of the generoſity of Britons, to offer inſults on the preſumption of impunity!

The felicity of our country, ſo ſtrongly depends on domeſtic tranquility, that it is the eſſential duty of a good ſubject not to endanger it, by a reſtleſs, diſcontented diſpoſition; ever ready to oppoſe the reigning powers of the ſtate, and to miſrepreſent the tranſactions of government. We owe the king, and his miniſters for the time being, as much reſpect, at leaſt, as is due to any other members of ſociety; and as men, and Chriſtians, we are bound to put the moſt favourable conſtructions on the ſentiments and actions of our fellow-creatures they will poſſibly bear; and therefore, we ſhould not want to change the adminiſtration from one ſet of men to another, any more than the form of government, but upon the ſoundeſt and moſt warrantable accounts; for the proſperity of the ſtate reſts upon the ſtability of both: it would therefore be a ſubverſion of all order, if either were made dependant on the caprice or inconſtancy of the people.

In all dubious caſes, in all political conteſts of a domeſtic kind, between the king or his miniſters, and the people, the preſumption ought

ought to be in favour of the crown, and the ſubjects ought to ſubmit; becauſe ſome ſtate affairs are not of a nature to admit of the expoſures and explanations to the public, neceſſary to adapt them to the capacities of the vulgar, ſo as to give them full ſatisfaction, as often as they may think fit to arraign the conduct of their rulers. It is even a queſtion if, upon this principle, for the quiet of the ſtate, we ought not to bear with a moderate abuſe of the ſovereign power: but this idea will not extend to any actual violation of the conſtitution, which includes the fundamental rights of the people. Here the people become their own judges; and every individual in Great Britain, of ſound underſtanding, is capable of judging whether he is injured or not.

THESE are all the duties of ſubjects in a free ſtate; conſequently, of Britiſh ſubjects ſimply reſpecting their ſovereigns; for obedience to the laws, and thoſe obligations which ſhould ſubſiſt between fellow-ſubjects, are all more properly included in the duties we owe our native country as a body politic, of which the ſovereign himſelf is only the moſt diſtinguiſhed member: we will, therefore, ſtate theſe in the order of precedency which their reſpective importance claims.

THE firſt patriotic duty of Britiſh ſubjects, is carefully to provide againſt any abuſe of the miniſterial power of the crown, which has a manifeſt tendency to tyranny and oppreſſion, or the ſubverſion of the conſtitution; for though we may patiently ſuffer the caprices and occaſional auſterities of our governors, on the ſame principle that we ſubmit to the ill-humour of our natural parents, yet when parents change to tyrants, their children have a right not only to reſiſt them, but to deprive them of all authority.---Under the ſame circumſtances, it is the duty of ſubjects to bring evil miniſters and councellors to a ſtrict account, and to condign puniſhment, if they have deſerved it; and even to depoſe kings, if no milder method can be taken to releaſe them from ſlavery.

BUT the tyranny muſt be notorious and flagrant, as it was under the reign of CHARLES I, before we proceed to ſuch extremities: yet it is not therefore to be ſaid, that Britiſh ſubjects are obliged to wait till the prince has riveted their chains, and put it out of their power to

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reſiſt him; on the contrary, it is high time for them to think of providing for their ſafety, when all his actions have a general tendency to the ſubverſion of the freedom of the conſtitution.

EVEN a people, who have ſubmitted to an abſolute government, have not thereby forfeited the right of aſſerting their liberty, and taking care of their preſervation, when they find themſelves reduced to abject ſlavery. Thoſe who have the happineſs then, to be born in a free country, and to live under a limited, mixed monarchy, undoubtedly have a much ſtronger claim to reſiſt a prince; for they have a right to reſume the ſovereignty they have given him, on expreſs conditions; and which he abdicates, the inſtant he invades the avowed rights and privileges of his ſubjects.

THE vigilant attention we ought to pay to the exerciſe of the miniſterial power of the crown, and the neceſſity of reſiſting all notorious abuſes of it, naturally lead me to a conſideration of the legal means of redreſſing all grievances ariſing from bad miniſters; and of preventing the revival of them in future.

THE ſecond duty then of Britiſh ſubjects is, to chooſe proper repreſentatives; and here permit me to introduce one general maxim, which will ſufficiently point out the ſource of our national degeneracy, both in and out of parliament: "As the repreſentatives of the ſociety, "under a free-government, are in their aſſemblies to exerciſe the "power of the people, for the good of the people in general, and not "for their own private advantage; and, as men are apt to be blinded "and miſled by their private advantage; nay, as there will always be "a great number of men in every ſociety, who will, knowingly, and "with their eyes open, ſacrifice the public to their private advantage; "therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary, that in all queſtions that come "before ſuch aſſemblies, no member ſhould have any private advantage "or emolument, to get or loſe, by his being for or againſt either ſide "of the queſtion."

Now let us ſuppoſe an æra in which the crown, or rather the miniſters of the crown, ſhall be able, by the many places and penſions in their gift, to have a conſtant majority in the houſe, under the abſolute

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abſolute direction of the firſt lord of the treaſury, or any other oſtenſible miniſter for the time being---a majority ever ready to render the joint powers of elocution and ſtrong argument uſeleſs by ſuperior numbers---no miniſter could deſire a more effectual ſacrifice of our excellent conſtitution, or a more ſecure one for himſelf, becauſe he might erect the ſtandard of deſpotiſm under the ſhadow of liberty; that is to ſay, under the form of a parliament. What would be the firſt queſtion of any ſenſible foreigner, well acquainted with our right of repreſentation, on ſeeing the nation thus reduced to the brink of deſtruction---what are the people about---what ſort of repreſentatives have they choſen---will this parliament laſt for many years---or will they ſoon have it in their power to chooſe proper repreſentatives?---If ſo, they muſt have patience---the remedy is in their own hands.---But how would the ſame perſon be ſurprized, if he was told, that a people complaining of every ſpecies of miniſterial uſurpation, and encroachments on their ſacred rights, had perſiſted, election after election, in diſpoſing of their votes for heavy guineas, or light promiſes---for party purpoſes, or court favours---nay, for a meſs of pottage---a feaſt, or a drunken carouſal---and that even in the very heighth of their popular clamours and remonſtrances againſt government---one of their repreſentatives no ſooner vacated his ſeat to ſell himſelf to the miniſter, for a title, a place, or a penſion, but they rechoſe him without loſs of time, without oppoſition; though they knew that in future "he muſt have ſomething "to loſe by deciding any queſtion in their favour, if it ſhould be con-"trary to the meaſures of the miniſter*"---Would he not ſay, that ſuch a people had no right to complain of bad adminiſtrations, ſince they themſelves, by their venal, or partial conduct, had undermined the DEMOCRATICAL fortifications of the ſtate, and opened the door for a combination of the two other powers, the MONARCHICAL and ARISTOCRATICAL; to check, controul, oppreſs, and finally ruin the third?---Once again then, let me enforce this eſſential duty of Britiſh

* THOSE who remember the removals of placemen, for not voting in favour of an Addreſs of Thanks for the Peace of Verſailles, 1763, will need no further proof, that placemen in parliament cannot well be free repreſentatives of the people.

ſubjects

ſubjects---to chooſe proper repreſentatives. The qualifications neceſſary to form a complete member of the Britiſh parliament, ſhall be ſtated in the cleareſt and moſt conciſe terms; and that they may ſtrike every elector, as well as every candidate, for the honour of being choſen the repreſentative of a free people, who may happen to peruſe theſe pages, I ſhall cloſe my Treatiſe on the Elements of Politics, with this ſubject. As to diſqualified perſons, the good ſenſe of the people, if they would not ſuffer it to be biaſſed, is ſufficient to enable them to decide on all incapacities, whether legal or political; the greateſt of all, however, I muſt remind my countrymen, ought never to eſcape their attention; "he who holds any conſiderable office during pleaſure, cannot be "deemed a proper perſon to repreſent any body of free people; for he "muſt often be ungrateful to his benefactors, before he can be true to "his conſtituents; and there is a much greater probability that he will "be falſe to the latter, than hazard the loſs of a lucrative employment, "by ingratitude to the former."

THE THIRD indiſpenſable duty which Britiſh ſubjects owe to their country, is a very mortifying piece of ſelf-denial; yet he who has not the fortitude and integrity to ſubmit to it, does not deſerve to enjoy the ineſtimable privileges he derives from the happy circumſtance of being born a member of the moſt diſtinguiſhed civil ſociety on earth.

EVERY honeſt ſubject of Great Britain, ought to be ſo far from aſpiring to public employments, for which he is not qualified by natural genius, by education, or by principle, that it is his duty to refuſe the offers that may be made him of occupying ſuch ſtations, to the excluſion of men of integrity and ſuperior abilities, whoſe talents might prove eſſentially ſerviceable to the ſtate at all ſeaſons; but more eſpecially in times of public difficulty and danger. I cannot, therefore, conceive a fouler treaſon againſt the conſtitution of our country, than that of accepting unmerited places and penſions; and however unfaſhionable or unpracticable ſuch a doctrine may appear, in an age of univerſal depravity, when ſelfiſh principles alone ſeem to be the guides of people of illuſtrious birth, who have had liberal educations; yet it is my buſineſs, in the inveſtigation of true political tenets, to point out

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out the beſt means of ſupporting the honour and dignity of civil government, though they may not be adapted to the contaminated ideas of degenerated Britons.

It is equally diſloyal, for it is not leſs injurious to our country, to hold more public employments in the ſtate, than it is poſſible for any one man to fill with honour; becauſe a faithful, diligent diſcharge of the duties of each, taken ſeparately, requires the conſtant exertion of our beſt talents; and a ſacrifice of the greateſt part of our time. There is ſcarce a public office of any importance in this free government, but demands the utmoſt application, exactneſs and fidelity; in a word, to which a man of ſtrict honour and integrity may not devote every hour of his life that can be ſpared from his private concerns, and the relaxations indiſpenſably neceſſary to recruit his exhauſted powers, and to invigorate him for freſh ſervices.

What ſhall we ſay then of thoſe ſelfiſh mortals, who, either in church or ſtate, ſeek after pluralities, but that they are guilty of the higheſt injuſtice to their ſovereign, their country, and their fellow-ſubjects, by monopolizing employments for the ſake of the emoluments belonging to them, which they are conſcious would be more worthily filled, if they were ſeparately diſtributed to different perſons of approved capacities, adapted to each department? And were we to draw inferences from theſe general maxims, and apply them to particular offices of truſt and importance under the Britiſh government, how mean, how deſpicable an idea muſt we conſequently entertain of part of our fellow-ſubjects, ſinking beneath the weight of *fine-cures*, and multiplied places!---But compaſſion requires that we ſhould draw a veil over the cupidity of our fellow-mortals; and that we ſhould expoſe no more of the deformity of human nature, than is neceſſary to ſerve the cauſe of public virtue: let the honeſt, uncorrupted ſubject, however, be his rank in life ever ſo humble, exult with becoming pride, while he can ſafely put his hand to his breaſt, and thank God that he is not one of theſe!

But it is the duty of a good ſubject not to uſe any unlawful means to attain any public office in the ſtate, even though he is actually well qualified,

qualified for it, and though he ſhould thereby preclude an inſufficient perſon; becauſe we are not permitted to introduce a general political evil into ſociety, for the ſake of any partial good that may reſult from this practice. I will ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that a moſt worthy reſpectable citizen offers himſelf a candidate for a public employment, in oppoſition to a bad man, and that the votes run in favour of the latter, ſo that there is no reſource left to carry the election in favour of the firſt, but by buying off the remaining votes from the oppoſite party; in this caſe, I apprehend, that the introduction of bribery in any ſhape, either by promiſes of particular ſervices, or by money, is ſo great a political evil in a free ſtate, that it cannot be juſtified on any principle, not even on the pretext before us: for the adminiſtration of the bad man is only a partial evil, of more or leſs conſequence to ſociety, according to the nature of the office to which he is elected; and had the good citizen been choſen, the good reſulting from his election could only have been partial, terminating at his death; whereas, the bad effects of the bribery and corruption, introduced and countenanced by ſuch an authority, might laſt for ages. On this principle therefore, we muſt condemn all unlawful meaſures to acquire dignities, offices of truſt and emolument, &c. though they are taken in favour of the beſt of men, as abſolutely incompatible with the duty of a Britiſh ſubject.

The next indiſpenſable obligation of good ſubjects is, to obey chearfully and readily, all legal ſummonſes to attend the ſervice of their country, as well on ordinary as extraordinary occaſions; and when duly elected to troubleſome but neceſſary offices in civil ſociety, to execute them with reſolution and integrity; not ſeeking to evade theſe charges by mean excuſes, or baſe corruption, whereby unfit perſons are often procured to act as deputies, to the great injury of our fellow citizens, and to the reproach of the adminiſtrators of our domeſtic police. A Britiſh ſubject does not act conſiſtent with his duty to his king, his country, or his fellow-ſubjects, who, on frivolous pretexts, avoids the important offices of a juryman, or of a conſtable; and I may venture to add, that if any violence, injuſtice or error, is done to a good

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good ſubject, in conſequence of the ignorance or venality of the perſon acting in thoſe offices in the room of another who ſhould have ſerved, the party evading the office is guilty of a high miſdemeanour, and ought to be conſidered as a bad member of ſociety.

It is the duty of good ſubjects to pay all taxes legally impoſed; and never to defraud the public revenue, by buying, ſelling, or receiving into cuſtody, contraband goods, or merchandize on which the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, or exciſes have not been paid. I am ſorry to ſay, that Britiſh ſubjects too generally make light of this obligation: yet when we conſider the practice of ſmuggling attentively, we cannot but own that it is a ſpecies of public robbery, which is unpardonable in Britain, where no tax can be impoſed but by the conſent of the repreſentatives of the whole nation in parliament, and where the produce of theſe taxes is chiefly applied to the ſupport of that form of government under which we chuſe to live, and from which we require protection and aid for the preſervation of our perſons and property. To this we may add, that every deficiency in the public revenues, occaſioned by this fraudulent practice, tends to the introduction of a new burthen on our fellow-ſubjects, to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate. But the diſcuſſion of this ſubject falls more properly under the head of finances; and is only introduced here, to ſhew that a good ſubject ought not to withhold from government its legal tribute.

The laſt duty we ſhall notice as incumbent on every ſubject of the ſtate is, not to quit the kingdom, but for the moſt cogent reaſons; and never to the detriment of the community. On this principle, we ought not to deſert our native country in times of public danger or calamity; eſpecially if we profeſs any art or ſcience, civil or military, the exerciſe of which may avert the one, or abate the other. Thus, when an enemy menaces an invaſion, thoſe who are able to bear arms in defence of their country, have no right to leave the kingdom: the ſame rule of conduct is to be obſerved with reſpect to the profeſſors of the medical art, when peſtilential diſorders rage in the land; they have enjoyed the advantages ariſing from their practice in times of public welfare, and they are bound in honour and equity to face the danger, for the benefit of the com-

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munity. The ſame may be ſaid of all the uſeful arts and employments on which the immediate ſubſiſtence of the people depends; for which reaſon it has been cuſtomary, in ſeaſons of public calamity, to enact temporary laws, to oblige butchers, bakers, brewers, &c. to remain in the reſpective cities to which they belonged, though at the peril of their lives. Theſe caſes excepted, it is generally allowed that ſubjects have a power of emigrating from a free country, without the permiſſion of the ſovereign: but it is at the ſame time required, that no good ſubject ſhould abſcond, to the detriment of the community to which he belongs. He therefore who abſconds, to defraud his fellow-citizens of their legal demands on him, or who carries away with him the tools and inſtruments of any uſeful art or manufacture peculiar to his native country, or who inſtructs foreigners in any branch of commerce, by means of which they may become competitors, or diminiſh the trade, muſt be deemed a traitor; and ſhould never be readmitted to the enjoyment of the rights and privileges he acquired from the place of his nativity. In a Britiſh ſubject, the crime of ſettling in foreign countries, and eſtabliſhing manufactures in them to rival their country, is a moſt heinous and unpardonable crime; and the more ſo, becauſe Great-Britain has extenſive and flouriſhing colonies ready with open arms to receive thoſe whom private misfortunes exile from the mother-country. Emigrations in large bodies, even to theſe colonies, muſt be highly prejudicial to the community; but ſtill this is a trifling evil, in compariſon with the eſtabliſhment of uſeful and profitable manufactures in the dominions of foreign potentates: but let it be remembered, that Britons, under this predicament, have forfeited all their natural and acquired rights, even thoſe of ſucceſſion and inheritance, our laws having juſtly proſcribed them, unleſs, after notice given to them by our ambaſſadors, or other public miniſters reſiding in the countries where they baſely exerciſe their art, they return home within the ſpace of ſix months.

THESE are the general duties of Britiſh ſubjects, which reſpect their ſovereign and their country. There are likewiſe certain obligations which may be called ſpecial and local, as they ariſe out of the particular

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ſtations men hold under the government; and ceaſe with their removal from thoſe employments: ſuch are the duties of the clergy, the magiſtracy, and the military; for which claſſes it is impoſſible to lay down any certain, invariable maxims of conduct: becauſe, in theſe ſtations, much will depend upon time and circumſtances; ſo that diſcretion and ſound judgment muſt often ſupply the place of precept. We would therefore recommend to thoſe who, in the early part of life, have a fair proſpect of entering into any of theſe claſſes, the ſtudy of the beſt moral writers; of the ſtatutes, and other law-books; and of the moſt approved military treatiſes, and hiſtorical memoirs.

WITH reſpect to the duties of ſubjects to each other, as individuals, and members of one political body, it is needleſs to enlarge upon them, for they are all included in the law of nature, to which we may ſafely refer free-born Britons; who will find, in the inſtitutions of God and nature, and in the dictates of a virtuous mind, ſufficient monitors to remind them, that they ought to live in peace and amity with their neighbours and countrymen; that in their manners they ſhould be gentle, affable, and courteous to each other; that the tenour of their conduct ſhould always be directed to prevent animoſities, litigation and violence, to promote union and harmony, in their reſpective reſidencies; and finally, that they ſhould not only abſtain from injuring their fellow-ſubjects, and from envying or repining at the happineſs of others, but ſhould contribute, as much as in them lies, conſiſtent with the duty they owe themſelves and their country, to promote their welfare and felicity.

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CONCLUSION.

SKETCH

OF THE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

REQUISITE TO FORM

A COMPLETE MEMBER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

HAVING ſtated the general principles of the ſcience of Politics, applied them to the Britiſh conſtitution, and demonſtrated that it is preferable to every other ſyſtem of government, it was my intention to have ſubjoined, by way of ſupplement, an analyſis of the civil juriſprudence and municipal laws of England, by which the internal adminiſtration of the domeſtic concerns of this kingdom are regulated; but after long and unwearied application, I found it impoſſible to reduce the ſubject within any moderate bounds, ſo as to incorporate it with this work; for which reaſon I muſt reſerve it for a ſeparate treatiſe to be publiſhed at a future period, unleſs ſome gentleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities in the law-department, ſhould kindly take the hint, and render his country an eſſential ſervice, by compoſing and preſenting to the public, a complete Treatiſe on the POLICE of England; a work greatly wanted, and which, when properly executed, will be a valuable acquiſition, meriting the patronage and attention of every gentleman in the kingdom.

IT is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe, that I have pointed out thoſe maxims of ſound policy which have been allowed and approved of in all

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all ages, and by which (the conſtitution of our country being always preſent in our minds) we may be enabled to form ſuch an impartial opinion of the merits or demerits of the national meaſures of adminiſtration, and of every ſpecies of oppoſition to government, as will make us leſs liable, in future, to be the dupes of the artful inſinuations of thoſe who, availing themſelves of men's ignorance of the firſt principles of civil ſociety, bias their judgment, corrupt their integrity, and induce them to take a deciſive part in public affairs, on falſe tenets.

We have already obſerved, that the principal duty we owe to ourſelves and to our country is, to preſerve the juſt equipoiſe of our excellent conſtitution; and as we have no other method of diſcharging this obligation worthily, but by maintaining free elections of proper perſons to repreſent us in parliament, I cannot cloſe this Treatiſe on the Elements of Politics with greater propriety, than by giving a general idea of the qualifications requiſite to form an able, independant member of the Britiſh ſenate *. "The foundation of "every worthy character muſt be laid in early youth, by a rational "education, ſuited to the ſphere of life in which men are deſigned "to act."

If this maxim is admitted, it will follow of courſe, that the accompliſhed ſenator muſt be a man who has received the moſt virtuous, liberal, finiſhed education, that human wiſdom can communicate; and that Britiſh electors cannot take a ſurer method to determine the merits of candidates for the important truſt of acting as their repreſentatives in parliament, than to ſcrutinize ſtrictly the early part of life of every man, who preſumes to think himſelf worthy of ſuch an exalted ſtation.

* Though I apply the term Senate particularly to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, yet it is to be underſtood in a general ſenſe, as defining any body or aſſembly of men in whom are veſted authoritative, admonitory, judicial and legiſlative powers; and who conſequently have a principal ſhare in the government of a ſtate.

The ſame accompliſhments, therefore, will be requiſite for a peer as for a commoner: but in Britain the merit will always be much greater in the noble youth who makes it the buſineſs of his early years to acquire them, becauſe his ſeat in parliament being hereditary, not elective, his attachment to the ſtudies which form a complete ſenator, are more diſintereſted; for however unqualified, he is intitled, by ſucceſſion, to his ſenatorial dignity.

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As a guide to my countrymen in their choice of repreſentatives at ſome future period, when, happily, Heaven may inſpire them with the virtuous reſolution to reſtore the priſtine vigour of the Britiſh conſtitution, by electing only ſuch as are properly qualified; and as an exemplary pattern for every youth who aſpires to public employments in this free ſtate; I ſhall now delineate thoſe additional branches of education which will be found as eſſentially neceſſary for the ſenator or ſtateſman, as the knowledge of the theory of Commerce, Politics and Finances; the particular ſubjects of this work.

It is the opinion of Plato, that the Deity, in the formation of mankind, does not temper them all alike, but compoſes them of very different ingredients; and by a beautiful allegory, in which he compares the ſeveral degrees of human excellence to gold, ſilver, and braſs or iron, he draws the outlines of thoſe qualifications which are adapted to the three general claſſes, into which the inhabitants of a nation are uſually divided. It is alſo a tenet of the antient ſchools, that three things are requiſite to form a perfect man; or, in other words, to make him as complete a reſemblance, as poſſible, of his great Creator: nature, manners and reaſon.

We need not enter into a fruitleſs controverſy, concerning the perfection or depravity of human nature; it matters not, whether we derive a corrupt, maimed, imperfect underſtanding from our parents, in conſequence of original ſin, giving us a natural bias to evil; or whether a rational ſoul is originally given with our bodies, to diſcriminate us from the brutes, and to enable us to form juſt ideas of every object that occurs to us; ſince we may draw an inference from the opinions of the antients, liable to no objection whatever from the ſyſtems of modern religion and philoſophy.

"It is evident, that men who are deſtined to command, to counſel, "or to give laws to whole communities, ſhould either be compoſed "by nature of finer ſpirits * than the bulk of mankind; or ſhould ſtand "indebted for them to manners and education;" at all events, they muſt be endowed with, or acquire pre-eminent talents, diſtinguiſhing them from their fellow-mortals.

* See Shakeſpear's Meaſure for Meaſure.

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If, therefore, an early propenſity to indolence and inactivity, an averſion to learning, ſlowneſs of apprehenſion, or other marks of a ſlender capacity appear in youth, it is the duty of parents and guardians to qualify them only for the ordinary concerns of private life, ſince the faculties which lead to the chief good and happineſs of mankind are deficient or imperfect in ſuch characters; and it would be an act of injuſtice to our country, to attempt to place them in public ſtations, where ſuperior abilities are required, to ſupport the honour and happineſs of a whole nation. But if, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages of want of genius and education, men of weak underſtandings, availing themſelves of family-intereſt, or court-favour, will offer themſelves as candidates for offices which are elective; if there is any ſenſe of honour, any regard for the welfare of their country left in the breaſts of the electors, it muſt ſurely be their inclination, as it is their duty, to convince ſuch men of the folly of their conduct, by rejecting them with diſdain.

Next to a happy genius, an early attachment to ſound manners, in defiance of all the allurements of faſhionable diſſipation, ſhould be expected from thoſe who aſpire to public employments in a free ſtate; eſpecially of a legiſlative, or judicial kind. They ſhould be perfect maſters of that part of philoſophy which teaches us to command our paſſions, and lays down the rules and precepts of ſocial virtue; by which we are enabled to purſue with fortitude, temperance and perſeverance, the natural principles of honour, probity, juſtice and humanity; to exhibit continual proofs of a perfect knowledge of the moral obligations we owe to ſociety, by a regular courſe of good behaviour; and to ſhew ourſelves worthy of the honours we expect from our fellow-citizens, by diſtinguiſhed ſobriety and delicacy of conduct; "For the art of counſeling, directing or governing others with wiſdom "and diſcretion, depends on that of living well ourſelves:" how then can we expect, that the man who has paſſed the beſt part of his time in brothels, at gaming aſſemblies, at horſe-races, or in the round of effeminate amuſements, which hourly ſeduce the inhabitants of great cities, ſhould be able to give his advice on any important ſubject, reſpecting

reſpecting the internal or external adminiſtration of public affairs? Will that man, who has made it his boaſt and his conſtant practice to deſpiſe the ſacred rites of religion, to violate the ſtricteſt bonds of amity, to elude the payment of his juſt debts, and to ſet order and decorum at defiance in his nocturnal revels, be a proper perſon to enact laws for the diſtribution of juſtice, for the ſecurity of property, for the preſervation of public tranquility, or for enforcing obedience to the civil magiſtrate and his ſubſtitutes; or would it not be a burleſque on ſound policy, to conſult ſuch men, on the expediency of war or peace, who really know not when a war is juſt and equitable, a peace honourable or diſhonourable, an alliance dangerous or ſalutary! Yet, if we look into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, at any late æra, ſince venality has blinded the eyes of the electors, it is to be feared, we ſhall find no inconſiderable number of repreſentatives, who fall under one or other of the above-mentioned predicaments! In a word, it is the ſenator's duty thoroughly to underſtand all the obligations to honeſty in their full force and utmoſt extent; and not only to know, but to practice, all the moral and ſocial virtues: for theſe attainments he muſt ſtand indebted to the moſt celebrated writers on moral philoſophy, policy, and public œconomy; and let it be remembered, that in ſuch bodies of electors as uſually aſſemble to nominate candidates at a general election, there are never wanting perſons of learning and experience, capable of judging whether the parties propoſed have purſued ſuch ſtudies as are requiſite to form the character of an accompliſhed ſenator. The freedom of this country, therefore, can never be endangered, if the electors will reſolve to reject all gameſters, debauchees, prodigals and ideots; and to chooſe only ſuch perſons as are properly, as well as legally qualified, to aſſert and maintain the rights and privileges of their conſtituents.

It is alſo highly expedient, that a Britiſh member of parliament ſhould be perfectly maſter of ancient and modern hiſtory, but more particularly the latter, in which muſt be included the moſt accurate knowledge of every part of the hiſtory of his own country.

From the records of antiquity, he will learn true fortitude, fidelity, juſtice,

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juſtice, temperance, œconomy, and a ſpirit of heroic ardour inciting him to ſacrifice every private conſideration; health, eaſe, fortune, and even life itſelf, for the good of his country, when ſhe is ſo critically ſituated that her preſervation from ruin depends entirely on ſuch ſignal exertions of patriotiſm. Modern hiſtory will make him acquainted with the commercial and political intereſts of thoſe nations, whoſe ſuperiority or rivalry are to be guarded againſt, or whoſe friendſhip and alliance is to be cultivated by his own country; and it ſhould be a fixed rule with electors to obſerve if the candidates for their votes are converſant in the hiſtory of the revolutions of their own country; for he who is not animated by the glorious ſtruggles that have been made in defence of public freedom, and the ſignal ſucceſſes that have attended them, will either be ſupinely indolent and inattentive, when miniſterial power encroaches on the rights of the people, or he will countenance the uſurpation, if not from venality, yet either from want of public ſpirit, or ignorance of the danger to which the conſtitution is expoſed.

THE manners and cuſtoms of his countrymen, their natural genius, temper, general behaviour, and mode of thinking and reaſoning on public affairs, ſhould be thoroughly inveſtigated by every man, who preſumes to ſolicit the honour of repreſenting his fellow-citizens in parliament; and no greater proof can be given of the incapacity, or of the ſiniſter views of a candidate, than a manifeſt contempt of the manners, opinions, and bold, free behaviour of the maſs of the people; for a familiar acquaintance with theſe, enables the accompliſhed ſenator to allay their prejudices and animoſities, to ſilence their clamours, to remove their diſcontents, to ſettle their differences, to quell tumults, to diſperſe rioters, and ſometimes to prevent the moſt dangerous inſurrections, by his affable, courteous behaviour, his friendly interpoſition, and his prudent advice: theſe are the advantages ſociety will derive (out of doors) from his knowledge of the diſpoſitions of the people, and how they ſtand affected as to the immediate poſture of public affairs; and, in the ſenate, he will always propoſe lenient, pacific meaſures for correcting and reforming popular abuſes; while, on the

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contrary, he who heartily deſpiſes the vulgar herd of conſtituents, and what he may be pleaſed to call "the ſcum of the earth," will be violent both in the ſenate and in public, and will be ready to aid any deſperate miniſter, who ſhall take it in his head, that there is "a political ne-"ceſſity," to make the people ſubmit by fire and ſword, or by rigid, partial proſecutions, to his arbitrary will and pleaſure.

All the reaſons and ends of government, every occurrence in the adminiſtration of public affairs, the proceedings of all courts of judicature, and all public aſſemblies, the characters of all perſons who enjoy poſts of honour and confidence in the ſtate, and the deſires and expectations of thoſe who haunt the drawing-room, and the levees of miniſters, are ſubjects of profound meditation; and of critical enquiry; and will contribute greatly to the accompliſhment of a complete ſenator; "for the knowledge of men is a principal branch of true wiſdom."

It is then the duty of Britiſh electors, to caſt a retroſpective eye on the way of living to which their candidates have been accuſtomed; it will be eaſily traced how they have paſſed their time, and whether they have employed it generally, in ſuch a manner as was likely to furniſh them with a competent knowledge of government, and of the ſtate of that civil ſociety, whoſe honour and intereſt they are to ſupport in parliament.

The laſt, and one of the moſt important points I ſhall have occaſion to mention, reſpecting the education of youth deſigned for any public employment, is, the art of ſpeaking in public; which in no country in Europe is ſo eſſentially requiſite as in Britain, nor in none ſo neglected.

"Eloquence is the ornament of wiſdom, and the imperial diadem of "ſcience:" to what purpoſe will all the attainments already mentioned ſerve, in a public capacity, if the gift of ſpeech is wanting; eſpecially in a country where it is almoſt impoſſible to mix in ſociety, without finding ſome occaſion to deliver our ſentiments, on ſubjects of art, commerce, or policy? In all our public aſſemblies we meet with ſpeakers; they cannot well proceed without them: but how mortifying it is to obſerve men of diſtinguiſhed talents, verſed in all the other

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other arts and ſciences which entertain or inſtruct mankind, ſo deficient in this, that we are put to the torture in hearing them, though we are convinced they are the beſt judges of the matter before them! But, in the Britiſh parliament, this qualification is indiſpenſably neceſſary; for the ſenator, who to a lively invention, a due arrangement of his ſubject, an happy choice of words, and a graceful attitude, is enabled to add a manly, harmonious voice, will render all his other accompliſhments ſtill more conſpicuous; and ſupport the cauſe of the commonwealth, by the dignity of a complete character. The examples of the power of eloquence in ancient times, are almoſt incredible; and in our days, we have ſeen its aſtoniſhing effects in a Britiſh Houſe of Commons. I ſhould be taxed with partiality, if I were to ſpecify the few ſpeakers, who, in the preſent parliament, do honour to themſelves and their conſtituents, by the ſtrength of their reaſoning, the graces of their elocution, and the dignity of their action; but having attended the courts of law, and other public aſſemblies, occaſionally, for twenty years paſt, ſolely from an early attachment to the ſcience of eloquence, of which I now preſume to think myſelf a competent judge, I cannot neglect this opportunity of paying a feeble tribute of gratitude to the only man whom I could ever conſider as the Cicero of this age and country; and to whom I ſtand indebted for the moſt ſublime, rational entertainments, I have enjoyed through life. Thoſe who remember LORD MANSFIELD in the prime of life, muſt do him the juſtice to own, that in him were united all the natural and acquired accompliſhments which, in the opinions of the beſt ancient and modern writers, conſtitute the finiſhed orator; and ſo highly was he admired when at the bar, that the moſt favourite public amuſements were deſerted by young gentlemen of taſte and judgment, whenever it was known that he was to plead, particularly before the Chancellor at Lincoln's-Inn Hall, where the ſittings often laſt during the evening; and I believe few, if any, inſtances can be given ſince, of ſuch crowded audiences, and ſuch a general cloſe attention, not only of gentlemen of the law, but of ſtrangers, who were drawn thither by the charms of genuine eloquence.

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It has been aſſerted by ſome writers of great reputation, "That the "liberty of the people may, in a great meaſure, be determined by the "ſtate of arts and ſciences, in any country." If theſe are patronized and carried to a great degree of perfection by the rulers of a nation, it is ſaid to be a proof that they are friends to the political freedom of mankind; and the very contrary is ſaid to be the caſe, where the cultivation of them is either totally deſpiſed, or manifeſtly neglected. To this opinion I cannot abſolutely ſubſcribe; becauſe, I apprehend that we have, before our eyes, a ſtriking evidence of the futility of the argument: for all the polite arts and ſciences, except one, are cultivated, patronized and ſupported too laviſhly, with a degree of vanity and idle oſtentation, which muſt, in the end, prove highly prejudicial to our commercial intereſts; but the art of eloquence, one of the nobleſt of all human ſciences, is ſhamefully neglected by the nation in general, and is openly diſcountenanced and warmly oppoſed, by the court-intereſt in particular: it is likewiſe very remarkable, that in proportion as the arts which are nouriſhed and ſupported by effeminate luxury, have been favoured in this reign, eloquence, which promotes public virtue and ſound manners, has been decried; and as it has declined, ſo have we deviated more and more from the principles of political liberty, which are the pillars of our excellent conſtitution.

Let me then earneſtly intreat my countrymen, not to elect mute repreſentatives. Can any thing be more abſurd than the practice of tying the tongues of two or three hundred ſenſible freeholders in a city or county, every one of whom could deliver his ſentiments with fortitude, eaſe and accuracy, (if not with dignity and elegance) on national concerns, by chooſing a dumb man to repreſent them in parliament. Every candidate who is unable to addreſs his countrymen in a manly, nervous, eloquent ſtile, ſhould be ſet aſide as an unqualified perſon; and the art of ſpeaking well in public, ſhould be made one of the moſt eſſential requiſites for attaining the diſtinguiſhed honour of being the deputy of a free people.

If this reformation takes place, the ſcience of true eloquence, which ſuppoſes that the powers of oratory will only be employed on the

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the ſide of virtue, will be attentively ſtudied; and our future parliaments will be compoſed of men not only willing, but able, to ſtop the progreſs of miniſterial encroachments on public freedom. At preſent, it is demonſtrable that, if the people had more ſpeaking members, the ſhameful practice of cutting ſhort the debates in oppoſition to the miniſtry, by calling for the queſtion, would be impeded, if not effectually prevented; and, vague as the idea may appear, I ſee no reaſon why a miniſter may not be harangued out of his motion, as well as a juryman be ſtarved out of his opinion: at all events, the independent electors of Great Britain will be highly blameable, if they do not make the experiment. I will go one ſtep further, and venture to affirm, that if the ſpirit of true patriotiſm, inſtead of its ſhadow, the ſpirit of party, prevailed univerſally in this country, they would find it more for their intereſt, in the alternative, to give the legal qualification to a very poor, honeſt gentleman, poſſeſſed of that eſſential accompliſhment, true eloquence, and to elect him as their repreſentative, than to chooſe the principal man in the county, qualified in every other reſpect, but totally deficient in this.

But, in caſes where there is no ſuch alternative, after having aſcertained, by a ſtrict ſcrutiny, the ſeveral qualifications already pointed out, and included in a perfect education; it ſhould be an invariable rule with electors, to prefer men of generous birth, paying particular attention to their family connections; for we very often receive impreſſions from education, favourable to virtue and public freedom, which are afterwards eradicated by the private influence and example of our relations. The hiſtory of every nation affords illuſtrations of this truth; but in none are they more frequent, than in the annals of Britain.

An independent ſituation with reſpect to fortune, and a known contempt of riches, eaſily diſcernible by a liberal, beneficent character, may be conſidered as the final accompliſhment of a Britiſh ſenator.

Happy the people who have the fortitude, diſcernment and virtue, to elect ſuch characters, and ſuch alone, to enact the laws by which they

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they are to be governed, to protect their property, to preſerve and improve their commerce, to raiſe the public revenues with diſcretion, and to note the application of them with a jealous eye!

PERMIT me now to take my leave of this ſubject, with a few political apothegms, ſuited to the times.

IF miniſterial influence in parliament ſhould prevail ſo far, as conſtantly to aſſure a majority in the Houſe of Commons, in favour of every meaſure indiſcriminately, which the reigning adminiſtration thinks proper to adopt and perſiſt in, then farewell to the renown of this mighty empire! for glory dwells not with ſlaves, but encreaſes or diminiſhes with the liberty of the people.

A FREE nation may ſurvive temporary thraldom; it may have a ſaviour: but a people enſlaved by their own venal or daſtardly conduct, can only change from one oppreſſor to another. The natural abode of VIRTUE is by the ſide of LIBERTY; but when liberty degenerates to licentiouſneſs, VICE takes her place, and a general diſſolution of all order and decorum enſues.

REMEMBER, therefore, my friends, countrymen and fellow-citizens, that all extremes are dangerous; you were born free; preſerve the integrity of your virtuous anceſtors, and you will remain ſo.---But if you wilfully adopt the vicious diſpoſitions, manners and cuſtoms of ſlaves, abſorbing every idea of public good, in the faſhionable diſſipations of a round of empty pleaſures, your national character will be loſt, and the diſtinction between you, and the ſubjects of neighbouring deſpotic ſtates, will ſcarce be viſible! VICE and folly forge the chains of a degenerate nation; bad miniſters only put them on: arouſe then to a ſenſe of public virtue, and you will ſoon find, that the freedom and happineſs of your country depends ſolely on a vigorous exertion of honeſt principles in the commons of the realm.

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THE

ELEMENTS

OF

FINANCES.

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THE

ELEMENTS

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PART I.

IT has been a conſtant ſubject of obſervation, complaint and reproach, that the inhabitants of Great Britain in general, not excepting even the loweſt claſſes of the people, are too ſtrongly addicted to politics; which ſeveral eminent writers have conſidered as a national vice in the people, deeming that ſcience to be totally foreign to their ſphere of life.

IT is not indeed to be wondered at, that the ſubjects of abſolute monarchy ſhould turn this national taſte into ridicule, and deſcribe this country as a ſtate where men, women and children, diſcourſe of public affairs, with as much freedom as they do of their domeſtic concerns. But it is aſtoniſhing and unpardonable, that Engliſh authors of repute, eſpecially ſince the Revolution, ſhould attempt to laugh us out of this diſpoſition, or affect to be ſurprized at it; and ſtill more inexcuſable is it, in any miniſter of ſtate, or any adminiſtration, to expreſs anger, and ſhew reſentment, on this account; provided political writers and ſpeakers keep to general ſubjects, and avoid perſonal invective, ſcurrility and abuſe.

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THE frequent expenſive wars, and heavy continental connections, reſulting from the political ſituation of Great Britain, have introduced a ſyſtem of Finances altogether unknown in this country befo e the Revolution. I mean that of funding or borrowing of money on the plan of repaying it, by converting the principal into annuities redeemable by parliament, and bearing different annual rates of intereſt. Theſe annuities being transferable, this mode of levying the immenſe ſums required for the exigencies of the ſtate, has hitherto ſucceeded to admiration, and has even anſwered all the purpoſes of refunding the principal, within any given term---for an open market has been eſtabliſhed, where the principal ſum originally lent by the ſubſcribers to government, may be recovered (perhaps with profit) by ſale to others, who are willing to become purchaſers: and it ſometimes happens that a loſs is ſuſtained, and the whole principal ſum cannot be thus recovered by ſale or transfer, owing to the temporary circumſtances of the nation. It is this market for the funds, it is this fluctuation of profit and loſs, which propagates that avidity for Politics, often ſo diſcernable in the countenances of my countrymen, that their very aſpect beſpeaks them to be---

"Big with the fate of CATO and of ROME!"

EXTENT of dominion, expenſive operations of war, and various chargeable contingencies, having augmented upon the nation of late years, the funding ſyſtem has grown up with them, to a ſtate of amazing maturity, and is now naturalized in this kingdom. It has been pregnant with ſome public debt, in every year of war; and the ſeveral rates of annual intereſt accorded for the principal ſums borrowed of the public, form together ſuch a capital ſum to be paid half yearly to the lenders or ſtockholders, as the ordinary revenues of the ſtate, after defraying the expences of the civil government, have never been able to ſupply: therefore, new impoſts and taxes of various kinds, under the denomination of CUSTOMS and EXCISES, have been laid on ſundry merchandiſe imported into this kingdom; and on divers articles of home conſumption, particularly on the neceſſaries of life; which bearing hard upon the ARTISAN, the MANUFACTURER, the TRADESMAN,

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MAN, and [illegible], it is no wonder that each, in their ſeveral ſtations, ſhould be ſolicitous about the adminiſtration of public affairs.

WAR will increaſe theſe taxes, to pay the intereſt of new loans on the ſame ſyſtem of Finances.

MAL-ADMINISTATION of the public revenues, will prevent the diminution of them in time of peace.

HERE then, we diſcover ſtrong motives for the inquiſitive turn of the maſs of the people.---This ſends them to coffee-houſes, and other places of public reſort, to read news-papers, to talk over the ſtate of national affairs, and to applaud or condemn, according to their various capacities or intereſts, the conduct of adminiſtrations. What then ſhall we ſay to that part of the people, who have acquired any conſiderable property, and have veſted, perhaps their all, in loans, called the PUBLIC FUNDS?

IN times of peace, every rumour of war agitates and diſturbs them, as the conſequence of a rupture muſt be additional loans, proportionable to the exigencies of the ſtate; and the creation of new funds, muſt neceſſarily leſſen the value of the old. In times of war, the alarm is ſtill greater: the invaſion of a foreign power may reduce the funds to one half of their original value; for the univerſal panic, under ſuch a circumſtance, would induce ſuch numbers of proprietors to ſell out, in order to tranſport their property to ſome other country, that the paucity of purchaſers might lower the price fifty *per cent:* great national loſſes by ſea or land, involving the nation in freſh extraordinary expences; tumults and inſurrections at home; and, in ſhort, a variety of other accidents, terrify the minds of thoſe whoſe whole, or chief ſupport depends on the funds, in times of public danger.

ALLOWING then for that unhappy ſituation of the human mind, when it is fluctuating between hope and fear, let us not too haſtily blame the majority of the people, thus deeply intereſted in the loans and taxes, if they ſometimes vent a little ill-humour, whenever they think the affairs of the nation in general, or the revenue department in particular, is weakly or wickedly adminiſtered. Should they avail themſelves of the liberty of the preſs, and proceed even to unbecoming

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lengths, in expreſſing their diſſatisfaction, this muſt not always be aſcribed to party and faction: it is oftener the voice of intereſt; the anxiety for real property, that foments popular clamour; and when the murmurs of the public are viewed in this light, a wiſe and temperate miniſter will be led to conſider them as the effect of a cauſe which he cannot remove, and will ſubmit to this political evil, with a good grace. He will go one ſtep further: as far as is conſiſtent with the dignity of the crown, and the ſecurity of government, which often depends on ſecrecy, he will exert himſelf to convince the public, that the national intereſt is firmly ſupported at home and abroad; he will authoritatively and expeditiouſly contradict every falſe intelligence, that is likely to inſtill cauſeleſs fears into the minds of the proprietors of the public funds: or, if any real, unhappy change of affairs is to be apprehended, he will make the earlieſt, moſt clear, and public notification of it to the whole nation; that advantages may not be taken, by ill-deſigning men, through private intelligence, to defraud credulous people of their property, by augmenting their fears, in order to purchaſe their ſtock at a low price.

I MUST intreat my readers to conſider theſe remarks as a curſory introduction, neceſſary for the better comprehending the more intricate parts of our ſubject, and as the only ſure means to enable us to judge of the advantages or diſadvantages of the funding ſyſtem, which is the baſis of all our revenue tranſactions, and which, in all probability, may laſt for ages. I ſhall now trace the origin, to remote times, of all aids, grants, ſubſidies and taxes, contributed or paid, whether voluntarily or by compulſion, to the ſovereigns or rulers of nations, for the public ſervice.

THIS will naturally oblige me to introduce a conciſe hiſtory of the various modes of raiſing public revenues, in different ages and countries, for the maintenance and ſupport of the adminiſtration of civil government, as well as to provide for the extraordinary exigencies of war; and from this hiſtorical review will be deduced ſome of the elementary principles of our modern finance ſyſtems, particularly the riſe of PUBLIC CREDIT, the object of the ſecond part of this treatiſe.

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It appears, from the few authorities I have been able to find on the ſubject*, that aids, contributions, and public revenues, for the ſupport of government, are as ancient as the firſt inſtitutes of civil ſociety; in fact, they were the obvious conſequences of the change mankind underwent, by quitting the ſtate of nature for that of human policy. As it was found neceſſary to veſt a ſupreme authority to govern, in one or more perſons, for the benefit of a community, ſo was it equally requiſite to entruſt a public treaſure in the hands of the rulers of nations, as a collateral means of ſecuring obedience to legal authority at home; and of providing a proper force to repel all hoſtile attempts from foreign enemies. But the methods of accumulating public treaſures, of furniſhing revenues for the ſupport of the dignity of the ſupreme rulers, or for the extraordinary exigencies of the ſtate, were as various as the manners and cuſtoms of different nations, and as remote from the ſyſtems of finances invented in modern times; notwithſtanding which, the little that is extant on this ſubject, ſhould be preſerved in a Treatiſe on the General Elements of Finances; for, if we cannot collect any valuable hints from the early ages of the world on this head, we ſhall, at leaſt, gratify a laudable curioſity, and be well entertained.

The juſtly celebrated DAVID HUME informs us, that, "It appears "to have been the common practice of antiquity to make proviſion, "in times of peace, for the neceſſities of war; and to hoard up trea- "ſures beforehand, as the inſtruments either of conqueſt or defence, "without truſting to extraordinary impoſts, much leſs to borrowing, "in times of trouble and confuſion †."

In order, therefore, to conceive a right idea of the ſyſtem of Finances

* It is very remarkable, that almoſt all the writers of repute, on the origin of civil ſociety, are quite ſilent on this important ſubject; indeed, it ſeems to have been totally overlooked till of late years, when the amazing reſources of modern nations, having neither mines of the precious metals, nor yet amaſſed treaſures, opened the eyes of ſpeculative men, and engaged them in attempts to trace the ſources of thoſe new powers which modern ſtates have acquired, and by which they have been enabled to accompliſh enterprizes in war and commerce, ſurpaſſing all the boaſted exploits of antiquity.

† Eſſay on Public Credit: London, printed for A. Millar, 1752.

in

in ancient governments, it is neceſſary to bear in mind, that princes and the rulers of republics, had always a domain or real eſtate proportioned to their condition and extent of territory; and that their firſt finance principle was: to conſider impoſts, or ſubſidies levied on the ſubjects, only as an extra-ſupply, granted through neceſſity: a momentary aid, to which public danger gave birth; and which expired on the reſtoration of public tranquility*. But it ſometimes happened, that the frugality of the prince, or of the chiefs of republics, had enabled them to amaſs treaſures ſufficient to defray the expences of a war; and in this caſe, no tax was impoſed on the people: for princes, and other chief magiſtrates, in ancient times, would have thought it diſhonourable to have kept their treaſures locked up, and withheld from the public ſervice.

When the reverſe happened, and a prodigal, needy king was on the throne; or men of the ſame complexion were at the head of a republic, then, temporary ſubſidies were granted, either in ſpecie, or in kind. But the very inſtant that an enemy was conquered, or that effects were taken in war, ſufficient to defray the charges of carrying it on, all further aid from the ſubjects was deemed unreaſonable, and was rarely granted.

Indeed, the ancients always made their conqueſts ſupport their public expences, or they fell in the attempt, and became themſelves tributary to their victors. Their wars were deciſive; and therefore, their impoſts were temporary, and not permanent, like thoſe of modern ſtates.

A fertile country and induſtrious inhabitants, together with a mild and equitable government, were the ſources of the power and felicity of the Egyptians for a long ſucceſſion of ages. The kings of Egypt enjoyed a rich domain; this they improved by œconomy and by commerce, which they carried on in their own names: from thence they derived the moſt advantageous and legal ſuccours, on public emergencies; and the ſame hand that graſped the ſword of triumphant

* Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire Generale des Finances, par M. le Chevalier D'Eon. A Londres chez J. Dixwell, 1764.

conqueſt,

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conqueſt, diſdained not to ſign the diſpatches of the royal factors, who were ſent to carry on traffic, on the ſovereign's account, with foreign nations.

WHAT a reproach to the contemptible race of modern nobility, who, in ſome countries, conſider commerce as a degradation of nobility, and will ſtarve, through falſe pride, rather than be enriched by embracing it!

MINES of gold and ſilver always were eſteemed the ſeparate property of the ſovereign; and theſe, according to DIODORUS SICULUS, produced annually in Egypt, a revenue of two millions of our money. The tributes impoſed on conquered nations, entered alſo into the royal coffers: the ſpoils of war appertained likewiſe to the king; but he generally diſtributed a part to the prieſts, the warriors and other ſubjects. --With theſe treaſures in hand, the people were exempt from all impoſts.

THE public magiſtrates and officers of ſtate had alſo domains aſſigned them, conſiſting of a certain ſhare of lands, with ſlaves to cultivate them; theſe were fixed and invariable, ſ. that they devoted themſelves, without venality, to the public welfare. Their immenſe public works were all carried on at the expence of the royal treaſury; and what that treaſury muſt have been, the monuments of the fooliſh oſtentation of their princes, may lead us to conceive, when we are told, that it coſt no leſs than £187,583 ſterling in vegetables, for the conſumption of the workmen, who built the grand pyramid*.

THE Perſians are the next nation of repute, concerning whoſe finances we have any certain information on record. Their ſubſidies were chiefly paid to their princes in the products of nature; ſuch as grain, proviſions, forage, horſes, camels, &c. Theſe were exchanged or ſold in traffic, from which the royal treaſury was repleniſhed. Strabo relates, that the Satrap of Armenia ſent regularly, every year, to the king of Perſia, 20,000 colts.

DARIUS, the ſon of Hiſtaſpus, was the firſt Perſian monarch, who demanded from the reſpective provinces of his kingdom, a regular

* Memoires de D'Eon, p 7.

contribution

contribution in ſpecie, by way of aſſeſſment on the revenues of each. He ſent for the deputies, and interrogated them, if certain ſums, which he propoſed to them, would be too much for their reſpective diſtricts; and he reduced his firſt demand one half, to ſhew his moderation: but ſo odious was the very idea of taxation, that the Perſians, who had given to CYRUS the title of Father, and to CAMBYSSES that of Maſter, ſtiled DARIUS the Trader.

THE republics of Greece were ſubject to different taxes: thoſe of ATHENS were the moſt remarkable; and all the other governments nearly reſembled them, except the Lacedemonians, whoſe negligence in this eſſential point of the care of the public revenues, brought on their ruin.

SOLON, the great Athenian legiſlator, held it as a maxim of policy, "That wiſe regulations, with reſpect to the public finances, ought to "be one of the firſt objects of legiſlation."---He therefore divided the people into three claſſes.

THE FIRST, was compoſed of ſuch, who eſtimated their effects at five hundred meaſures in grain and liquids---for in this manner they computed the wealth of their citizens.

THE SECOND, of thoſe who were worth to the amount of three hundred meaſures.

THE THIRD, of thoſe who had but two hundred.

FROM theſe three claſſes, they elected their magiſtrates.---All the inferior citizens were compriſed under the claſſes of mercenaries and of artiſans: in other words, of perſons labouring with their hands for a livelihood, and ſervants.

THE citizens of the three claſſes paid annually, into the public treaſury, the following ſums.

THOSE of the firſt claſs contributed an attick talent of ſilver---about 55*l.* of our money.

THE SECOND, half a talent---or 25*l.*

THE THIRD, ten minæ: the ſixth part of a talent---or 9*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

As the contributions to the public treaſury, were made the ſtandard for regulating the order of the claſſes, a citizen, by increaſing his ſubſidy

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ſubſidy to the ſtate, might raiſe himſelf from one claſs to another, at his option.

STRANGERS, that is to ſay, aliens or foreigners, likewiſe paid a yearly contribution to the ſtate; but it was trifling, only twelve drachmæ---or 7*s*. ſterling: indeed, on failure of payment, the law was rigid, "They were reduced to ſervitude, and expoſed to ſale."

THE other revenues of the Athenian commonwealth, were a ſpecies of land tax, but it was paid in the products of the cultivated ground: duties on the importation and exportation of merchandize; the ſale of foreſt wood; the working of ſilver mines; and laſtly, the fines impoſed by the judges on convicts, for various treſpaſſes or crimes.

I HAVE been very particular in ſtating the Finances of Athens, for two reaſons:

FIRST, On account of the high reputation of SOLON; who, even by modern writers, is ſtiled, "The prince of legiſlators."

SECONDLY, Becauſe I diſcover in his ſyſtem, a finance principle, which ought to be invariably adhered to in every civilized government.

IN all public ſubſidies, aids, taxes, talliages or impoſts, laid on the ſubjects of a country, due regard ought to be paid to their eſtates, or real poſſeſſions; and government ſhould even avail itſelf of the foibles of mankind, by taxing men according to their ſuppoſed property, deduced from the oſtenſible marks of wealth, exhibited in ſplendid equipages, coſtly furniture, rich apparel, and ſumptuous tables; and they likewiſe ſhould throw out the lure to ambition, by apportioning rank and titles, to the contributions paid into the public treaſury.

AT all events, property ſhould be followed, wherever it is to be found, and a proportionable ſubſidy be required from the owner. This is very little attended to in England, where the common people, not eligible to magiſtracy, (thoſe who at Athens paid nothing) bear the burthen of our public expences; and pay not only for the extra-expences, but for the protection and ſupport of civil government, in a manner that bears no proportion to the benefits they receive from that government, in compariſon to their opulent neighbours.

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THE hiſtory of the Lacedemonian republic, improvident as it was, furniſhes an anecdote of a very ſingular nature, relative to our ſubject; which conveys a hint of great utility to modern financiers.

THE Samians demanding a ſubſidy of the Lacedemonians, for having conquered their enemies, they fell upon an extraordinary expedient, having no public treaſure.---The government enjoined all the ſubjects of the ſtate to keep a ſtrict faſt for one day, extending the decree to their very cattle; and it was ordered, that the value of the conſumption of that day, in caſe they had not faſted, ſhould be paid to the Samians*. Abſurd as this ſcheme muſt appear to modern ſtateſmen, it is certain that, in times of public danger, and upon extraordinary emergencies, expedients as ſingular muſt be put in practice: ſuch as are the leaſt onerous, aſſuredly demand the preference; and in a nation famed for extravagant, daily expenditures, ſurely a ſimilar plan might be deemed both prudent and productive.

THE celebrated Roman republic owed its proſperity to the wiſe adminiſtration of its revenues; and its fall to the corruption, venality and diſſipation of the managers of that department.

WHILE her generals, and chief magiſtrates, reckoned it a principal part of their public character, to bring in immenſe treaſures to the ſtate, and to depoſit them in the temple of Saturn, as a ſacred pledge for the public uſe, in times of preſſing danger, ROME flouriſhed; every new victory added to the national revenue; conquered nations were made tributary†; the honour of an alliance with the Roman ſtate was paid for, by annual or fixed ſubſidies; and the triumphs of their conſuls, ambaſſadors and victors, were more or leſs honourable, in proportion to the riches they brought into the treaſury. The applauſe of their country---the honours which virtue delights in---made ambition laudable; for it was diſintereſted.

THE reply of Fabricius, the Roman ambaſſador, to Pyrhus, King

* Ariſtotle de Œconom. tom. II.

† The Romans held a political, proverbial ſaying, to which the republic conſtantly adhered, while it was in a flouriſhing ſtate. *Bellum ſeipſum alet.* See Tit. Liv. lib. 33. and Plutarch's Lives.

of

of Epirus, when that monarch wanted to bribe him, is a fine monitor to modern miniſters, and a ſevere ſatire on their conduct.

As it ſtrongly marks the character of thoſe times when Rome was at the height of human glory, permit me to recite it.---To convince Pyrhus, that wealth had no charms for him, at leaſt, at the expence of his country, he thus addreſſed the King: "Employed for a long "time paſt in the adminiſtration of the affairs of the republic, I have "had a thouſand opportunities of amaſſing conſiderable ſums of "money, without the leaſt reproach. Could a more favourable "occaſion preſent itſelf, than that which happened four years ſince? "Inveſted with the conſular dignity, I was ſent againſt the Samnites, "the Lucanians, and the Brucians, at the head of a numerous army; "I ravaged a great extent of country; I gained ſeveral deciſive battles; "I took many opulent cities by aſſault; I enriched the whole army "with their ſpoils; I refunded to every citizen what he had contributed "towards the expences of the war; and having received the honours "of a triumph, I ſtill put four hundred talents into the public trea-"ſury."---Theſe illuſtrious examples were by no means rare in ancient Rome. All their great generals were animated with the ſame noble ſentiments, till ſome years after the laſt Punic war, when her venal citizens began to appropriate to themſelves, the ſpoils of conquered nations, and in the ſame moment to forge chains for their own country*: ſo cloſely united are venality and deſpotiſm.

I WILL not trouble you with a detail of the various impoſts introduced in the decline of the republic, and during the civil wars of Cæſar and Pompey, when the revenues they drew from their colonies, and tributary provinces, were conſiderably diminiſhed. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that they were quite exhauſted, while Auguſtus, Cæſar

* Of this number were Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Cæſar and Lucullus, who, compared with thoſe brave and honeſt generals, Cornelius Lentulus, Quintus Minutius, Portius Cato, Scipio Africanus, Lucius Scipio, and Paulus Emilius, appear to be no other than public robbers. The ſums that Paulus Emilius tranſported to Rome, and depoſited in the public treaſury, after the conqueſt of Perſia, were ſo conſiderable, that no tax of any kind whatever was impoſed on the Roman people for many years after this event.

Diod. Sicul. lib. 28.

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and Anthony, disputed the empire of the world; and that, in proportion as the empire increased and established itself on the ruins of the republic, the œconomy of government diminished, its expences accumulated, and taxation made such a rapid progress, that it soon became quite insupportable.

From this period taxes became arbitrary, depending entirely on the dispositions of the emperors. Some of them, however, supported their governments, as in the time of the republic, on the spoils and tributes of conquered countries; so that, under good reigns, this annual supply swelled the public treasure, until prodigal emperors squandered it away, and took to rapine and extortion, to fill up the void.

These not only had recourse to taxes known in the world before their time, but they invented others, the very name of which were enough to excite hatred, despair and revolt.

One laid a tax on smoke; another on the air; another on the shadow of trees; another on sepulchral rites; another on every tile of an house; and, to complete the list, Vespasian levied a tax on urine, because it was used for putrifying a plant called Orseille, of which a red paste was made, esteemed excellent in dying, before the discovery of cochineal.

The ingenious author of Considerations on the Commerce, Policy and Circumstances of Great Britain, relates an anecdote of very modern date, concerning a tax, equally ridiculous and grievous, which was humorously opposed, though not without insult, but to a happy effect.

"The want of common sewers in Lisbon, before its destruction by "the earthquake, made the carrying of human ordure out of houses, "a beneficial employment for black women; many of whom, being "slaves, maintained poor widows, with families of orphans, by such "work. But a tax being laid, amounting to a third part of their "earnings, and some duties in that country being paid in kind, when "the day came on which the payment of the tax commenced, all the "black women went with their third pot, to the door of the king's "palace, where they told the soldiers on guard, they were come to

"pay

" pay his majeſty's tax in kind: after much mirth amongſt the crowd " aſſembled on the occaſion, they were civilly deſired to retire with " their loads, which they refuſed, and inſiſted upon paying the tax " their own way; till the king ſent them an order to depart, on his " royal promiſe, that the tax ſhould be aboliſhed, which was ac- " cordingly done."

THE only rational taxes under the Roman government, which have been copied by modern ſtates, are the land and capitation taxes, and ſome duties on the importation of merchandize, which, together with the twentieth part of the purchaſe money on the ſale of ſlaves, formed the revenue deſtined to defray the public expences of the ſtate, under the emperors; and this fund was diſtinguiſhed by the title Ærarium*; but it is to be obſerved, that the produce of the twentieth on the ſale of ſlaves was kept apart in the temple of Saturn, being ſtiled *Sanctum Ærarium*, the Holy Treaſure, not to be touched but upon the moſt urgent and extraordinary emergencies; ſo that when Julius Cæſar, amongſt other violations of the freedom of his country, forced open the temple, and ſtole the treaſure it contained, it is ſaid, by ſome hiſtorians, that this fund amounted to two millions of our money; an immenſe ſum in thoſe days!

As to the articles, which compoſed their Fiſcum, or revenue ſet apart for the maintenance of the prince, or chief magiſtrates, it conſiſted of fines and confiſcations awarded in the courts of judicature for tranſgreſſions of the laws; of eſtates left without heirs; of treaſures found, diſcovered, or bequeathed to unworthy perſons, &c; ſo that this revenue was always fluctuating and uncertain; and no general tax could be levied on the people for the maintenance of their ſovereigns or chief magiſtrates, while Rome enjoyed any remains of civil liberty.

UPON the total diſſolution of the Roman empire, Europe was overrun by barbarous nations; who ſupported their power, by the military ſervices of the people.

THE chiefs who eſtabliſhed the feudal kingdoms, found themſelves in a fluctuating ſituation, owing to the oppoſition of the barons, or

* The Treaſury, or Exchequer. *Ainſworth.*

principal

principal vaſſals, who frequently made themſelves independant, erecting themſelves into little principalities. While power remained thus diſtributed into many diviſions, no regular ſyſtem of ſupplying a public revenue could be eſtabliſhed; but aids in kind, and in ſpecie, were oppreſſively extorted by each chief, and by the inferior, independant barons, in their reſpective diſtricts, according to caprice, and the good or bad diſpoſition of the ruling powers, without any fixed principle. But when the power of theſe barons was ſubdued, and regular ſyſtems of government prevailed generally in Europe, wars became leſs frequent, military ſervices grew out of date, and the revenue principle of taxation was recurred to, as in ancient times.

THE riches and ſtrength of a ſtate began now to be eſtimated, not by its poſſeſſion of mines of ſilver and gold, nor yet by the quantity of treaſure amaſſed, and hoarded up in coffers, but by the number, induſtry and commercial ſpirit of its inhabitants; by which a circulation of money became general, the ſtate flouriſhed, and the maſs of the people, not a few individuals, ſuch as barons and military chiefs, were made eaſy and happy in their circumſtances.

IT was much about this æra, that the Jews, being impoliticly baniſhed from ſome European ſtates, retired to others, and invented bills of exchange, as a means of drawing their property out of thoſe countries they were obliged to quit.

A plain proof, that though they were perſecuted, and exiled on falſe principles of policy and religion, by the rulers of different nations, there were not wanting men of high honour, and diſtinguiſhed integrity, in every country, who diſapproved theſe meaſures, and honeſtly remitted to them, in bills on their correſpondents, the property they had been obliged to abandon.

THE chief reſidence of the exiled Jews was Lombardy; from which country they afterwards emigrated to every ſtate, whoſe free conſtitution would admit of their ſettling, though under ſevere limitations and reſtrictions.

HAVING converted their effects, as we have ſeen, into negociable bills of exchange, and by that means likewiſe into money, they

eſtabliſhed

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eſtabliſhed a traffic, at that time unknown in Europe, and therefore falſely ſtiled, by many reſpectable authors, a new invention: "The "lending out money at intereſt."---A buſineſs openly carried on in the Roman empire; and which, towards its decline, was loudly complained of, having degenerated into oppreſſive, extortionate USURY.

LOMBARDY, by theſe means, became the general market for money. Extravagant needy princes mortgaged their lands and principalities, to obtain ſums of money of the Jews for emergent occaſions, and ſometimes, they were ſo diſtreſſed, as to be obliged to pawn their jewels, and the regalia of their crowns; on ſuch domeſtic occaſions, as to provide dowries for their daughters; and to furniſh out ſumptuous entertainments, and coſtly public ſhews, coronations, marriages and other ſuch events.---The idea of national credit, is reputed to owe its origin to theſe loans made to princes, on the baſis of private credit.

BUT we muſt not confound this with mercantile credit, an error ſome great writers have fallen into; for though paper credit, as a medium of exchanges, inſtead of money, was introduced generally among the nations of Europe, by means of theſe loans, yet true mercantile credit, that which is uſually given for a ſtated, cuſtomary time, on merchandize, and known by the name of book-debt, is as ancient as commerce itſelf.

IN proportion as paper-credit increaſed, by bills of EXCHANGE, and private obligations, ſuch as bonds, promiſſary notes, and mortgage deeds; loans became more frequent; and money being thus eaſily obtained, the principle of borrowing became univerſal and irreproachable; becauſe it was practiſed by princes and whole communities, as well as by individuals.

IN proceſs of time, it became cuſtomary to raiſe money in moſt nations of Europe, on a branch of taxes aſſigned to the lender for the reimburſement of his principal and intereſt: this operation was called farming the public revenues of a ſtate, and ſtill ſubſiſts in France. But as the commerce of the ſtates of Europe was trifling at the time, when paper-credit was firſt eſtabliſhed, few governments could borrow money of their own ſubjects, for they had not the means of acquiring

wealth,

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wealth, therefore the Jews of Lombardy were applied to; and theſe money negociations having brought them more intimately acquainted with the miniſters and agents of the princes of Europe, ſome of theſe, more enlightened than the reſt, diſcovered the commercial genius of this induſtrious, perſecuted people; found that it might be turned to the advantage of the ſtate, that ſhould protect them; and on this principle, gave them encouragement to ſettle in their reſpective countries.

So early as the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, we find them ſettled in England; but in ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhews the unhappy ſituation of theſe wanderers at that æra; for by the twenty-ſecond law of the Confeſſor, all the Jews in the kingdom are declared to be under the king's protection; or rather ſlaves to the king, for it adds, "the "Jews and all that are their's, are the king's." Even for this partial protection, they paid very dear; and yet all the impoſitions laid on them, could not ſecure them in this country, from the arbitrary diſpoſitions of future kings, and the ſavage bigotry of their ſubjects; ſo that they were always on the wing, tranſporting their perſons and effects from place to place, in the moſt ſecret manner, thereby increaſing the negociation of bills of exchange, and extending the idea of paper-credit; but the end of encouraging them to ſettle in England, which was to improve the commerce, and add to the riches of the ſtate, by the certainty, readineſs and univerſality of their communication with all trading nations, was defeated by the intolerant ſpirit of the times, and the avarice of our kings.

On the acceſſion of Richard the Firſt, numbers came over to England, and conſulting with their brethren in London, it was reſolved to make a large free gift to Richard on the day of his coronation; accordingly the deputies attended for that purpoſe, richly dreſſed; but the populace, inflamed by the monks and friars, cruelly maſſacred them. Richard hung up the ringleaders of this aſſaſſination, but theſe unfortunate people did not perceive that he meant to protect them, only for the ſake of their riches; and, therefore, notwithſtanding what had happened, there remained great numbers in all parts of the kingdom, who the following year underwent the ſame fate.

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At Lynn, Norwich, Stamford and Lincoln, the mad populace pillaged their effects, burnt their houſes to the ground, and then murdered them. But at York, the moſt horrid ſcene of cruelty was exhibited; for the governor of the caſtle having given refuge to five hundred of theſe unfortunate people, beſides women and children; the high-ſheriff, at the head of the populace, attacked the caſtle; and the Jews, having in vain offered a large ſum of money to be permitted to retire, even without any effects, an ancient rabbin perſuaded them to deſtroy themſelves; which was effected in the following manner: every maſter of a family cut his wife and children's throats, and his ſervants; after which, he diſpatched himſelf.

Not even this diſmal tragedy could prevent others of this tribe from coming over in more favourable times; for in the reign of HENRY III. they were ſo well eſtabliſhed, were grown ſo rich, and had got poſſeſſion of ſo much land for the loan of money, that an act of parliament was made, that no Jew ſhould enjoy a freehold in any manor, land or eſtate, by charter, gift, obligation or otherwiſe; which law remains in force to this hour: and in the following reign, they were baniſhed the kingdom for ever; their eſtates were likewiſe confiſcated to the king's uſe, except ſuch ſums as were neceſſary to defray the expences of their voyage to the continent: they were charged with having made themſelves univerſally odious by uſury and extortion. But, upon principles of ſound policy, they have ſince been re-admitted, and enjoy moſt of the eſſential rights of other ſubjects.

I have been thus particular in their hiſtory, for two ſpecial reaſons: firſt, becauſe we owe the origin and introduction of paper-credit, and of our modern revenue principles, to theſe money-making people; and ſecondly, becauſe we have ſtill ſome illiberal people amongſt us, who wiſh to ſee the oppreſſions, to which ſuperſtition, prejudice and avarice gave birth, in former times, revived in our days. Upon every trifling occaſion, the murmurs of diſcontented, envious men, break forth; and our public prints are full of projects for burthening with taxes, or exiling, the very inſtruments of the extenſive power of the Britiſh empire, and of the affluence of its chief citizens. Againſt all ſuch dangerous

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innovators, and ſhallow politicians, a wiſe adminiſtration will always be upon its guard, and will not ſuffer their arguments to have any weight, till they can prove that the unrivalled public credit of this kingdom is a national evil; for while we acknowledge it to be the ſupport of univerſal commerce, it muſt be our intereſt to protect and encourage all worthy men of this denomination, and not to confound them indiſcriminately with the unworthy, of which there are ſome to be found in every religious and civil ſociety on earth.

MORTGAGING their domains, borrowing money on their jewels, and other ſuch temporary expedients, being found inadequate to the wants of the princes of Europe, as their ambition and luxury increaſed; aids and ſubſidies, from the property of their ſubjects, were occaſionally granted upon very extraordinary occaſions, either for the maintenance of the king's perſonal dignity, or for national ſervices. Theſe aids were originally granted in kind; and ſuited, in their very nature, to the occaſions for which they were required. When, for inſtance, a king of England, in the early periods of our hiſtory, aſked a ſubſidy for his domeſtic concerns, it was granted him in wool; the care of converting it into money being left to the royal merchant, and his agents. But if he wanted to go to war, each county furniſhed its quota of ſhips, ſeamen and land forces; and either paid for, or provided proviſions and ſtores.

A REVOLUTION in the ſyſtem of polity at length taking place, with reſpect to England, in conſequence of which military ſervice in perſon was aboliſhed, and wool prohibited to be exported; ſubſidies were granted in ſpecie, by the creation of taxes; but the produce of theſe being ſlow and uncertain, it often happened, that the emergency was ſuch as required, on the inſtant, the groſs ſum theſe taxes could only furniſh, in the courſe of a year; therefore, money was borrowed on the eſtimate of the annual income, by anticipation, or it was farmed out, for a certain ſum. When the inconveniences and oppreſſions attending theſe methods made them odious, then another expedient was fallen upon, which was to raiſe the ſupplies for the extra-demands of the ſtate within the year, by what were called perennial ways and means;

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means; the chief of which was, by monthly, or half yearly aſſeſſments on every county throughout the kingdom. But, at length, extent of territory, by conqueſt and colonization, increaſe of commerce, and the multiplication of political connections, all of which involved the powers of Europe in long and expenſive wars, rendered it impoſſible, in countries deſtitute of mines of gold and ſilver, to raiſe the large ſupplies, now become requiſite, by any rational means, within the year, ſo as to entail no debt on the next.

THEN it was that public credit was introduced into France and England, on the ſame principles: that of borrowing of the natives and of foreigners, immenſe ſums, on determinate or perpetual annuities; for the payment of which certain funds were created and appropriated, whereby taxes became hereditarily fixed on the ſubjects, yet unborn, of both countries.

THE conciſe, hiſtorical review we have made of the ſources of the public revenues of ancient ſtates and empires, is ſufficient for our purpoſe; which was to deduce the origin of public credit, the baſis of the funding ſyſtem: a ſyſtem that, with a few occaſional variations, adapted to particular times and circumſtances, has been ſteadily purſued in Great Britain, from the Revolution to this hour; and has proved an inexhauſtible treaſure, amply compenſating for the want of mines of the precious metals, and anſwering every purpoſe of the ancients, without reducing our government to the fatal neceſſity of pillaging conquered countries, of ſelling her protection and alliance, or of ſuffering her dependant colonies to be harraſſed and oppreſſed by tyrannic prefects.

BUT this fruitful expedient, owing to the expenſive, though ſucceſsful wars we have carried on, ſince we firſt had recourſe to it, has brought upon ourſelves, and entailed upon generations to come, a reputed national debt, amounting to a ſum almoſt incredible; a circumſtance, in the opinions of many men of cool judgement and ſound underſtanding, extremely alarming. It is, therefore, become a ſubject of the moſt ſerious and critical enquiry, whether the public credit of Great Britain,

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and its funding ſyſtem founded thereon, proceeds on true or falſe revenue principles; in other terms, whether it will ſtill continue to be the ſupport of the proſperity of this kingdom; or, in the end, be productive of ſome dreadful revolution.

It was with the utmoſt diffidence I firſt entered upon the diſcuſſion of this delicate point; but it is with great pleaſure I now inform my readers, that while this part of my work has been under my hands preparing for the preſs, a moſt elaborate treatiſe on circulation and the Engliſh funds, has appeared in the French language*, unanimouſly attributed to the maſterly pen of Mr. Pinto, the celebrated author of the Eſſay on Luxury, and of the Letter on Card-playing, ſo well known, and ſo juſtly admired, in France, Holland and England†.

In this treatiſe, I happily find my own ſentiments, reſpecting our national debt, ſupported by ſome incontrovertible arguments, which, though they occurred to me, and many of my readers will recollect were mentioned in my lectures, wanted the aid of additional authority, and a more ample illuſtration, which I am now enabled to give them. To the information I have gained from the treatiſe on circulation, the public are indebted for the clear deciſion I ſhall preſume to make in favour of our funding ſyſtem, notwithſtanding all the acknowledged, or reputed diſadvantages attending it.

But, after paying this debt of gratitude to Mr. Pinto, it is but juſtice to myſelf and to the Engliſh preſs, to acquaint my countrymen, that there is a want of candour in this gentleman, in laying claim to the firſt diſcovery and publication of the following hypotheſis; "That "the public credit and funds of England are the ſources of its power, "extenſive commerce, and national glory." So long ſince as the year 1761, I gave it as my humble opinion, "That, independant of the

* Traité de la Circulation et du Credit: contenant une Analyſe Raiſonnée des Fonds d'Angleterre, & de ce qu'on appelle Commerce, ou jeu d'Actions; un examen critique de pluſieurs Traités ſur les impôts, les Finances, &c. A Amſterdam, chez Marc. Michel Ray, 1771. Octavo.

† Eſſai ſur le Luxe. A Amſterdam, 1762. Lettres ſur le jeu des Cartes. A Londres, 1768.

"miſchiefs

" miſchiefs ariſing from ſtock-jobbing, the ſtupendous fabric of public " credit had accompliſhed the greateſt events for the glory, welfare " and preſervation of theſe realms*;" and, as my little piece has gone through ſeveral editions in London, was tranſlated into the French language, and was inſerted, by detached pieces, in the Leyden Gazette, ſoon after its publication, it is hardly poſſible it ſhould have eſcaped the notice of our author; much leſs, that well informed Engliſhmen ſhould tell him at Paris, after the peace, " That his ſyſtem, as to our " national debt, was quite new†."

Sir James Stuart's Enquiry into the Principles of Political OEconomy, an excellent work, which I have frequently had occaſion to mention in the preceding treatiſes, was likewiſe publiſhed at London in 1767; and in the chapters on circulation, public credit; debts and taxes, it will be found, that this judicious writer was thoroughly ſenſible of the ſolidity and national advantages of public credit; and is ſo far from apprehending any bad conſequences from the national debt, that he is of opinion we may ſafely go on in the ſame way, as long as we can find funds to pay the annual intereſt on any freſh debts government may contract. I cannot therefore admit, that Mr. Pinto " has " opened the eyes of Engliſhmen and foreigners on the ſubject:" with reſpect to the latter, however, he has certainly taken the moſt effectual means to diſſipate their alarms, and to encourage them to veſt their property in the Britiſh funds, of which he gives them an intelligent ſatisfactory explanation; and for which, the Britiſh government ought to make him ſome honorary acknowledgement.

If the love of fame is laudable, if a deſire to live, after death, in the rememberance of our countrymen, is commendable, this little digreſſion will be pardoned; and, there is an honeſt pride in contending for the

* See Every Man his own Broker, by T. Mortimer; firſt edit. 1761; or ſeventh edit. 1769. London, printed for S. Hooper.

† In 1768, being more fully convinced of the truth of the propoſition I had advanced in 1761, I publiſhed an anonymous pamphlet on the ſubject entitled " The National " Debt, no National Grievance;" which was well received by the public, and is now out of print.

honour

honour of having been in the leaſt degree uſeful to the community of which we are members. Theſe motives have animated me, in this caſe, to aſſert my right; but it is now time to proceed to the ſecond part of the Element of Finances; in which the nature and extent of the public credit of Great Britain ſhall be amply delineated; and our funding ſyſtem juſtified, on the moſt undeniable principles.

PART

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PART II.

ON THE

Nature, Solidity, Preſent Extent, and National Advantages

OF THE

PUBLIC CREDIT, AND FUNDING SYSTEM OF *GREAT BRITAIN.*

I SHALL be very conciſe in my definition of public credit; becauſe I imagine the ſubject is pretty well underſtood in this kingdom, ſo many perſons being concerned in its preſent, extenſive operations.

PUBLIC CREDIT, as it reſpects money tranſactions, and particularly the ſyſtem of Finances, or the adminiſtration of the revenues of kingdoms, means no more, than that mutual confidence between government and the people, which enables the former to obtain, by diſpoſing the latter to contribute, very large portions of their perſonal eſtates, to ſupply the public exigences of the ſtate, on great emergencies; upon the ſtrength of obligations contracted, and promiſed to be punctually performed, in future time. This has been carried to a greater height in England of late years, than ever was imagined in any other country, or conceived to be poſſible in this. In ſhort, it has aſtoniſhed and perplexed ſome of the powers of Europe, and has been the terror of others *.

No age, no hiſtory of any country, ancient or modern, has been able to produce ſuch a glorious inſtance of the effect of inviolate conſtitutional faith and honour on the part of the borrowers; or of ſuch unlimited and chearful confidence, on the part of the lenders.

* La dette nationale en Angleterre, et les fonds qui la compoſent, connu ſous le nom d'annuités; l'eſpece de commerce & de jeu qu'on en fait, ſont devenus depuis quelque tems l'objet de l'attention des puiſſances. *Traité de la Circulation et du Credit*, p. 31.

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THIS is meant as a deſerved eulogium on the parties, merely as DEBTORS and CREDITORS. The conſequences, to the reſt of the nation, of this vaſt paper-caſtle, we muſt diſcuſs more minutely hereafter.

LET us now enquire by what means the fabrick of public credit has been erected in this kingdom.

WHATEVER is eſtabliſhed by the authority, and common conſent of a nation, to be the medium of their mutual exchanges with each other, is properly the money of that nation. It may, therefore, conſiſt of gold, ſilver, and copper coin; or of paper; as bills of exchange, promiſſary notes, bonds, and other ſecurities for ſpecie; all of them anſwering one and the ſame purpoſe: GENERAL CIRCULATION.

ON this principle, banks of circulation were formed; being an improvement on banks for mere depoſit.

AND on the good faith of banks of circulation, together with a political application of the principle, and of the advantages ariſing from it, was planned the ſyſtem of borrowing money on public, or national credit, in England. The faith of parliament having the ſame effect as the inviolate credit of banks; and being ſubſtituted in the place; that is to ſay, to ſupply the defect of amaſſed treaſures, or of mines of the precious metals.

THE general definition of a bank, means no more, than a public repoſitary for money, to be refunded on demand.

BUT banks on this limited ſcheme not being generally uſeful to commerce, improvements were made on this idea of depoſiting money in banks, at firſt only intended for the convenience and ſecurity of private perſons; and the Italian banks very early opened a circulation ſpecie, by diſcounting and negociating bills of exchange, and by purchaſing or lending money on bullion, plate, jewels, and other valuable effects. For the knowledge of this profitable traffic they were indebted to the Jews, ſettled in Lombardy, who, partly for their own convenience, and partly on the principle of gain, aſſiſted in the eſtabliſhment of banks of circulation. In proceſs of time, theſe banks

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acquired additional ſtrength and new profits, by means of their credit, which enabled them to make their notes the medium of their exchanges, and to iſſue them in payment of demands on them, in the room of caſh.

In our dictionaries of commerce, you may find an ample detail of the conſtruction of all the banks of Europe. My ſubject requires an attention only to two: the bank of Amſterdam, and the bank of England; the firſt having furniſhed the outlines of, and the laſt ſupported the ſtructure of, public credit, and of paper-money, in this country.

The bank of Amſterdam was founded at the beginning of the laſt century; the republic of Holland having already viewed, with a wiſhful eye, the national advantages ariſing to the ſtates of Venice from their bank. They, therefore, took the advantage of favourable circumſtances---peace, commercial proſperity, and a redundancy of caſh---to form a bank, which was at once to be a repoſitory for money, and to ſupply its place in commercial tranſactions: for, by an ordinance, at the time of its eſtabliſhment, the payment of bills of exchange, and of merchandize purchaſed in wholeſale quantities, muſt be made only in aſſignments on the bank, which cannot be refuſed; and thus millions are circulated in a day, without the intervention of the precious metals, by ſimple transfers, or aſſignments on the bank. But for the convenience of ſtrangers and of retailers, there are a ſet of caſhiers, out of the bank, who are always ready to iſſue caſh for bank aſſignments; and no ſum is taken in at the bank, from private perſons, under three hundred florins, about thirty pounds ſterling. By theſe means, there is always ſpecie enough current for the purpoſes of common domeſtic circulation: and though this famous bank does not avail itſelf of iſſuing notes of credit, yet its reputation, through the facility of its transfers, and the prevailing notion of its vaſt treaſures, real or imaginary, was carried to ſuch a height, that it ſurpaſſed all other banks in Europe, till that of England began to flouriſh; and, on account of its improvement of the Amſterdam plan, to gain the preference.

William III. eſtabliſhed the bank of England, upon ſome of the outlines of that of Amſterdam, with theſe material improvements. No perſons are conſtrained to pay, or to receive payment in bank notes;

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the matter is left open, free and optionable, agreeable to the genius of the Britiſh nation.

The original proprietors, or ſubſcribers to the fund which formed the capital of the Bank of England, had four *per cent.* annual intereſt, from the time of making the depoſit; nor was the whole principal ſum ever called for, I believe only ſeventy-five *per cent.* Thus they have enjoyed four *per cent.* on a nominal £100 ſhare; this has likewiſe riſen, by the profits of the company, to five and a half *per cent*; beſides which, their original nominal £100 ſhare has riſen to be worth £160, and ſometimes more: whereas the contributors to the foundation of the Bank of Amſterdam, have never received any other profit, but that of the riſe and fall of the agio, on buying and ſelling, which varies from three to ſix *per cent.* I ſpeak of the public; what the ſtates or the directors may gain, is as great a ſecret as the treaſures of this bank; eſtimated, by ſome writers, at twenty-eight millions ſterling, in gold and ſilver bars and ſpecie. But Sir William Temple, a very diſcerning man, obſerves, that there was no forming an adequate notion of its real riches; for though they ſhew a great quantity of ingots of gold and ſilver, in a large vault under the town-houſe, yet the ſacks ſtanding by them, and ſaid to contain coin, may, or may not, as they are never inſpected but by the burgomaſters. It is moſt likely, the greateſt part of their treaſure is ideal; and that King William was in the ſecret, ſince he ſo readily purſued the ſame principles of public credit in England.

In every reputable bank, whoſe notes on demand enter into circulation the ſame as ſpecie, one third of the amount of their paper-credit will always be a ſufficiency of coin to keep their caſh payments regular; and ſo long as money can be inſtantly had for their notes, theſe will always have the preference, on account of the facility of tranſport, and to avoid the time and trouble of tale, in large ſums.

But King William extended the Dutch plan, by conſtituting annuities determinate and perpetual, as a conſideration for capital ſums borrowed; and theſe were made transferable on the very principle of the transfers of the bank at Amſterdam.

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THIS is the true origin of the funding ſcheme; and the hiſtory of the generation of brokers, bears the ſame date. It is likewiſe remarkable, that their commiſſion for buying and ſelling is an eighth *per cent*; exactly the ſame as is taken by the agents of the bank aſſignments at Amſterdam. But the misfortune attending the funding ſyſtem at the Revolution, was, That want of affection, a diffidence of government, and the fear of another revolution, prevented King William from profiting by the plenty of money then unemployed in the nation, and obliged him to tender very high intereſt, which opened the door to all the exciſes that have been entailed on us.

SIR JAMES STUART juſtly obſerves, That when money regorges in the hands of private perſons, and cannot be employed in trade or purchaſing lands to advantage, it becomes uſeleſs: large capitals being only valued for the intereſt they will bear. Had William's government been fixed, and undiſturbed by any apprehenſions of rebellions and revolts, he might have borrowed money at two *per cent.* inſtead of ſix.

BUT the Jews, whoſe correſpondence is general, took advantage of his ſituation, and kept up the value of money, on private ſecurities, as high as poſſible, that the government might be obliged to tender the ſame on more profitable terms: good private credit being then deemed more ſecure than the public credit of an unſettled government.

IT is not neceſſary for me to run through a detail of all the life annuities, transferable perpetual annuities, lotteries, &c. introduced after this period. You will readily perceive that the imaginary wealth, the reputation of the reality of which is kept up by the aſſignments or transfers of the bank of Amſterdam, is the very paper-caſtle we have erected and fortified on every ſide with ſuch ſucceſs in England.

THE public market for our funds, open every day, holidays excepted, is, to people poſſeſſed of perſonal eſtates, exactly the ſame as a general bank of circulation: and the transfer-books of the ſundry annuities conſtituting the national debt, are, to all intents and purpoſes, the figures or repreſentatives of caſh, or the medium of exchanges; and will ſo continue, as long as the market continues open, which will be as long as the annual intereſt is regularly paid when due.

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AFTER the fatal year 1720, when, if any thing could have deſtroyed public credit in this kingdom, it muſt have expired, men were generally ſolicitous about the probability of refunding the capital, or principal ſum lent to government: but ſince the extenſion of the funding ſyſtem has opened a general market for the ſtocks, the whole attention of the people concerned in them ſhould properly be, and it chiefly is, confined to the proſpect of the regular payment of the intereſt. For as to the principal ſum it is recoverable at market every day.

THE people in France ſtill retain their anxiety and concern for the reſtoration of their capitals, for this reaſon: becauſe their government hath violated its public faith, by ſtopping the payment of the intereſt of its loans; and therefore, there is not a daily marketable price to their actions, as there is to our funds. The financier, therefore, at the head of the revenue-department in France, muſt ſtudy the means of refunding the principal after a certain term, and of providing for the intereſt in the interim. Unable to accompliſh either in the laſt war, the public credit of France was almoſt ruined; for they ſtopt payment; and called this breach of faith, one of the calamities of war.

WHILE the public credit of England, owing to the inviolate faith of parliament, was riſing every day, and the conſequences of an open-market, and current price for our funds was, That all the unemployed money in Europe was thrown into them; which increaſed our national powers; gave us the capitals of foreigners at a moderate intereſt, to increaſe general circulation; to keep up the prices of our funds; and, if employed in trade, in the courſe of circulation, to yield a profit of ſix *per cent* over and above the intereſt paid for it.

I HAVE ſaid, that the extent of our public credit in the laſt war, augmented our national powers.---Hear what a late writer ſays on this head.

" IN point of natural wealth, France is by far the richeſt of the two " kingdoms.---How comes it then that ſhe is found ſo infinitely infe- " rior to England! the riches of the latter kingdom are able to raiſe " up armies out of ſtone! She has nothing to do, but to ſtamp with her " foot, and Pompey's legions ſpring up at her command! The gold

" and

" and ſilver of France is twice as much as that of England; and yet " one country ſeems to be in want of common wealth, and the other " diſgorges its guineas all over Europe!---All!---All! is public credit " and paper!---The moſt amazing ſtructure that the wit of man ever " erected!---The temple of Solomon has been long boaſted of in the " world; and its coſting ſome forty or fifty millions: a child's play- " thing to the architecture of the Engliſh! They have expended three " times as much on an edifice, and hung it in the air! The moſt " etherial building ſurely that ever waved to the winds of Heaven!"

PUBLIC CREDIT then is a national good; it raiſes us fleets and armies more expeditiouſly than the mint could coin the precious metals.

PAPER, the repreſentative of theſe, by means of our national credit, raiſes twelve millions in a few hours, by the ſignatures of eight or ten merchants, of vaſt property and influence, ſubſcribers for themſelves and friends: the authority of the nation, its legiſlative body, ſtamps its currency, and makes it, in an inſtant, not only the medium of our exchanges between ourſelves, but a valuable conſideration for the unemployed money of foreigners.

BY this method of raiſing the prodigious ſums wanted, for the public ſervice, in time of war, we avoid the tedious and oppreſſive modes formerly in practice here, and ſtill ſubſiſting in France; ſuch as heavy capitations, or poll-taxes; monthly aſſeſſments on lands and perſonal eſtates; and other burthenſome impoſitions: and we raiſe the ſupplies on the beſt revenue principle imaginable---By voluntary contributions, or loans from our own ſubjects and foreigners.

" IN fine, public ſecurities are with us, become a kind of money; " and paſs as readily, at the current price, as gold or ſilver. Wherever " any profitable undertaking offers itſelf, however expenſive, there are " never wanting hands enough to embrace it. Our national debts " furniſh our merchants with a ſpecies of money, that is continually " multiplying in their hands; and produces ſure gain, beſides the " profits of their commerce. This muſt enable them to trade for leſs " profit.---The ſmall profit of the merchant renders the commodity " cheaper; cauſes a greater conſumption; quickens the labour of the

" common

"common people, and helps to ſpread arts and induſtry through the "world *."

It is not poſſible to add to this analyſis of public credit, and its beneficial effects, without becoming tediouſly prolix; and indeed I moſt heartily ſubſcribe to the opinion of Sir James Stuart: "The principles "which influence the doctrine of public credit, are ſo few and ſo plain, "that it is ſurpriſing to ſee how circumſtances could poſſibly involve "them in the obſcurity into which we find them plunged on many "occaſions:" he might have added, by moſt writers on the ſubject, for want of preciſion.

Here then let us reſt the merits of the cauſe in behalf of public credit, till we have fairly and amply ſtated all the objections of its adverſaries, and produced the whole catalogue of evils alledged to be the reſult of our extenſive funding ſyſtem. They have employed the pens of the greateſt writers, and the tongues of the greateſt orators in this kingdom, at different periods ſince the Revolution: yet, notwithſtanding all their declamations, PUBLIC CREDIT has outlived the gloomy prophecies of its bankruptcy; is in a more flouriſhing condition at preſent than in any former time; and will ſupport us triumphantly in twenty future wars againſt the united powers of the houſe of Bourbon; ſecuring to us, likewiſe, our unrivalled commerce; if the treaſury department is beſtowed on able, reſolute, honeſt miniſters.

The capital objections to the funding ſcheme were ſtarted at the time of its inſtitution; and have continued ever ſince, with little or no variation; except that the murmurs of the people, and the declamations of both writers and ſpeakers on the ſubject, have grown louder and more vehement, in proportion as the national debt and taxes have increaſed.

A NUMBER of projects have likewiſe been offered to the public, from time to time, for paying off or leſſening this national debt; all of which have proved ideal, chimerical, or inadequate to the end propoſed: even the expedient adopted by the legiſlature, the creation of the ſinking fund, has failed; and the partial, occaſional diſcharge of

* Hume on Public Credit.

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one or two millions at different times, ſince the laſt peace, has only ſerved to ſhew the imbecility of thoſe miniſters who have made ſo idle an application of the increaſing revenue of the ſinking fund; which I ſhall demonſtrate, in the third part of this treatiſe, might have been much better employed.

THOSE two remarkable periods, the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, in 1716, and the alienation of the ſame fund, in 1727, produced a number of diſſertations from the preſs, and of very ſpirited debates in parliament, too long to be inſerted in this place; and as the ſubſtance of all that was then ſaid or written, againſt the funding ſyſtem, and the national debt, has been aſſiduouſly ſelected and urged with double force by later opponents, I ſhall confine myſelf to them; but thoſe who are deſirous to have an opportunity of obſerving, that no new arguments have been advanced for ſome years, though the ſuppoſed grievance has continued to grow more and more intolerable every day, are requeſted to refer to the hiſtory of, and proceedings in parliament at the above-mentioned periods.

MR. HUME is, of all others, the moſt formidable adverſary we have to encounter; his great reputation having ſtamped ſuch an authority on his opinions, that they have paſſed currently with the public; and very few writers have ventured to enter the liſts againſt a champion ſo univerſally protected and eſteemed. Yet this celebrated hiſtorian, this admired philoſopher, is vulnerable on his weak ſide; and it is in his Political Eſſays, that he has laid himſelf open to the attacks of criticiſm; his maxims being advanced with great boldneſs, without reſerve, and with ſuch a confidence of being founded on true principles, that it ſhould ſeem as if the author himſelf looked upon them as incontrovertible.

As a proof of this, I need only cite his hypotheſis with reſpect to public credit; to which ſubject I ſhall confine my ſtrictures on his political opinions. "One of theſe two events muſt happen; either "the nation muſt deſtroy public credit, or public credit will deſtroy "the nation: 'tis impoſſible they can both ſubſiſt together, after the "manner they have been hitherto managed in this, as well as in ſome "other

"other nations." This is the well known *poſtulatum* which has ſounded the alarm to the whole kingdom, and has propagated a general apprehenſion concerning the final conſequence of the national debt: every ſpeculative projector, every diſappointed ſtateſman, every pſeudo patriot, every timid, or hypocondraical adventurer in the public funds, and all the ruined gamblers in 'Change Alley, have made this their common text, and have filled our ears with tedious eſſays and declamations on the approaching bankruptcy of the ſtate: in times of war, adding to its horrors; and, in the halcyon days of peace, diſturbing its repoſe, by their ill-judged intimidations. But we ſhall eaſily ſilence the diſciples, if we are able to refute their maſter.

OUR learned author examines the effect of public credit on our domeſtic and foreign concerns; and having found it, as he imagines, highly detrimental to both, he draws the ſtriking concluſion we have juſt noticed.

WITH reſpect to the firſt, he obſerves, "That public ſtocks, being "a kind of paper-credit, have all the diſadvantages attending that "ſpecies of money.---They baniſh gold and ſilver from the moſt con- "ſiderable commerce of the ſtate, reduce them to common circulation, "and by that means render all proviſions and labour dearer than "otherwiſe they would be.---That the taxes which are levied to pay "theſe debts, are apt to be a check upon induſtry, to heighten the "price of labour, and to be an oppreſſion on the poorer ſort.---That "foreigners poſſeſſing a ſhare of our national funds, they render the "public, in a manner, tributary to them; and may, in time, occaſion "the tranſport of our people and induſtry.---That the greateſt part of "public ſtock being always in the hands of idle people, who live on "their revenue, our funds give great encouragement to an uſeleſs and "inactive life."

"THESE are the injuries which," he ſays, "ariſe to commerce and "induſtry, from our public funds; but though they are very con- "ſiderable, yet, in his idea, they are trivial, in compariſon of the "prejudice which reſults to the ſtate, conſidered as a body politic; "which muſt ſupport itſelf in the ſociety of nations, and have various

"tranſactions

" tranſactions with other ſtates, in wars and negociations. The ill, " there, is pure and unmixed, without any favourable circumſtance to " atone for it; and it is an ill too of a nature the higheſt and moſt " important."

One would imagine, after ſuch a declaration, that we ſhould be made acquainted with the nature of this evil; and that a political diſſertation would have followed, to point out in what manner our weight and influence with foreign powers is impaired by our public funds: but here, Mr. Hume fails of his uſual preciſion, and leaves the ſubject open to our conjectures, without offering the leaſt elucidation, though the propoſition, if true, is indeed of the moſt intereſting and alarming nature. The very reverſe, however, ſhall be proved, in its proper place; but this is not the only inconſiſtency in the celebrated Eſſay on Public Credit. In fact, what Mr. Hume has advanced in favour of our public ſecurities, and on which he lays little or no ſtreſs himſelf, has proved ſtrictly true in every reſpect; the advantages allowed by him to be derived from them, have, contrary to his opinion, conſidering the political circumſtances and ſituation of the kingdom, overbalanced the ills that have reſulted from them in our domeſtic œconomy. They have increaſed circulation and conſumption; " they have " quickened the labour of the common people, to provide a ſurplus " of commodities for exportation; and have helped to ſpread arts and " induſtry through the whole ſociety*."

From the year 1752, when Mr. Hume wrote, to the preſent time, no performance of any reputation has appeared in oppoſition to the ſyſtem of public credit and funding, except a very ingenious treatiſe, lately publiſhed by dr. price, intitled, " Obſervations on Reverſionary Payments; on Schemes for providing Annuities for Widows, and for Perſons in old Age, &c; and on the National Debts"†. The character of this reſpectable author, joined to his great ſkill and accuracy in arithmetical calculations, juſtly engaged the attention of the public to his obſervations on a ſubject, in which all ranks of men are more or leſs

* Compare p. 387 and 388 of the Eſſay on Public Credit, with p. 389, 395, and 396.

† London, printed for T. Cadell, 1772.

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intereſted; and the general approbation this treatiſe met with, induced the Doctor to publiſh an Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt; the motives to which he declares to be, that the obſervations he had made on this head, in his Treatiſe on Reverſionary Annuities, had been conſidered as very important, by the concurrent opinions of the beſt judges; but the managers of our public affairs not having favoured them with any attention, this was another reaſon for appealing to the public.

As I differ in opinion from this worthy author, and muſt take the liberty to ſhew the fallacy and inefficacy of his projects for paying off the national debt, under its proper head; it is but juſtice, before I ſtate his arguments againſt the funding ſyſtem, to acknowledge, that his Treatiſe on Reverſionary Payments, ſo far as it reſpects ſchemes for providing annuities for widows, and for perſons in old age, is a moſt uſeful, and, at this time, a moſt valuable performance; for government, with a ſupineneſs, ignorance, or negligence, abſolutely unpardonable, has ſuffered a number of ſocieties, ſome of them compoſed of obſcure individuals, to raiſe capital ſums, by different contributions from their fellow-ſubjects, on the moſt chimerical, vague plans imaginable; without authority, without law, and with hardly the ſhadow of ſound judgment on their ſide.

Societies which, while they were undermining public credit, both commercial and political, by diverting ſums of money from the channel of trade, (an evil ſo loudly complained of with reſpect to the national debt) partially favoured the reigning miniſter of the treaſury department, by contributing to keep up the price of the public funds, the principal money being from time to time veſted in them; and alſo gave government an opportunity of obſerving how capable that people muſt be, to bear further annual burthens, who could thus throw away five, ten, or twenty pounds *per annum*, on any deluſive ſcheme, propoſed by intereſted, or miſtaken projectors.

It is impoſſible to read Dr. Price's introduction to his Treatiſe, and his proofs of the inadequateneſs of the plans of the ſeveral annuitant ſocieties ſtarted up within theſe very few years, without lamenting the folly

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folly and avarice of mankind; at the ſame time, we cannot but wiſh that ſo valuable a member of ſociety ſhould be duly noticed and properly rewarded, for having conveyed ſuch uſeful information to the public.

Some of theſe ſocieties are already diſſolved, in conſequence of Dr. Price's publication; and as it appears to be the benevolent intention of this gentleman, to ſuppreſs them entirely, he cannot take it ill, that, as a means of circulating his uſeful intelligence beyond the limits of his own work, I take the liberty of copying into mine, the following irrefragable truths:

"The general diſpoſition which has lately ſhewn itſelf to encourage "theſe ſocieties, is a matter of the moſt ſerious concern; and ought, "I think, to be taken under the notice of the legiſlature. The leading "perſons among the preſent members will be the firſt annuitants; "they are ſure of being gainers; and the more inſufficient the ſcheme "is, on which a ſociety is formed, the greater will be the gains of "the firſt annuitants. The ſame principle, therefore, that has pro-"duced and kept up other bubbles, has a tendency to preſerve and "promote theſe; and, for this reaſon, it is to be feared, that, in the "preſent caſe, no arguments will be attended with any effect. The "conſideration, that the gain made by ſome in theſe ſocieties, will be "ſo much plunder taken from others, ought immediately to engage "all to withdraw from them, who have any regard to juſtice and "humanity; but experience proves, that this argument, when oppoſed "to private intereſt, is apt to be too feeble in its influence.

"It cannot be ſaid, with preciſion, how long theſe ſocieties may "continue their payments to annuitants, after beginning them. A "continued increaſe, and a great proportion of young members, may "ſupport them for a longer time than I can foreſee. But the longer "they are ſupported by ſuch means, the more miſchief they muſt "occaſion."

We will now return to our ſubject; on which, in my humble opinion, Dr. Price is as much miſtaken, as he is clear and deciſive, on that of reverſionary payments and annuitant ſocieties.

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He has added but little to the general articles of impeachment brought by other writers againſt the national debt; and indeed, the chief intention of his attacking it at all, ſeems to have been the introduction of his propoſals for leſſening, and finally paying it off. It is evidently with this view, that he advances the following hypotheſis; which is of the ſame tenour as Mr. Hume's, though expreſſed in other terms.

"The practice of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies for every national "ſervice, by borrowing money on intereſt, to be continued till the "principal is diſcharged, muſt be in the higheſt degree detrimental to "a kingdom, unleſs a plan is ſettled for putting its debts into a regular "and certain courſe of payment. When this is not done, a kingdom, "by ſuch a practice, obliges itſelf to return, for every ſum it borrows, "infinitely greater ſums; and, for the ſake of a preſent advantage, "ſubjects itſelf to a burden, which muſt be always growing heavier "and heavier, till it becomes inſupportable."

It being my profeſſed deſign to explode all projects for paying off the national debt, I ſhall demonſtrate, hereafter, that no ſcheme can be formed, in the preſent political circumſtances of the nation, and conſidering the ſtate into which its finances have been thrown, ever ſince the Revolution, meriting the attention of a judicious miniſter; and that the imaginary debt itſelf, taking the principal abſtractedly, and apart from its annuities, or annual intereſts, is not an evil, nor liable to the objections indiſcriminately thrown out againſt it.

After recapitulating the evils enumerated by Hume and other writers, Dr. Price, with the becoming freedom of an independant gentleman, mentions more miſchiefs, of a political nature, which he apprehends, are conſequences of our preſent *exorbitant* debt.

"It checks the exertions of the ſpirit of liberty in the kingdom. "The tendency of every government is to deſpotiſm; and in this it "muſt end, if the people are not conſtantly jealous and watchful. "Oppoſition, therefore, and reſiſtance, are often neceſſary. But they "may throw things into confuſion, and occaſion the ruin of the public "funds. The apprehenſion of this muſt influence all who have their

"intereſt

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" intereſt connected with the preſervation of the funds; and incline " them always to acquieſcence and ſervility.

" It expoſes us to particular danger, from foreign as well as domeſtic " enemies; by making us fearful of war, and incapable of engaging in " it, however neceſſary, without the hazard of bringing on terrible " convulſions, by overwhelming public credit. And in caſe of another " war, ſhould it continue long, we are in danger of either overwhelming " public credit, or of being terrified, by the apprehenſion of ſuch a " calamity, into an ignominious and fatal peace."

In the appeal to the public, the Dr. dwells upon another calamity, which had been mentioned by moſt writers on the ſubject, as a conſequence of the national debt: this is no other than DEPOPULATION; for which I have aſſigned various other cauſes, in my Elements of Commerce; and I find the very ſame ſentiments in the appeal: I likewiſe have noticed, that our exciſes, and, in general, the mal-adminiſtration of our Finances, co-operate with the other miſchiefs enumerated to diſcourage population, and to diminiſh the number of the people.

The undue weight and influence in the conſtitution, which is thrown into the ſcale of the Crown, by having in its gift ſuch a number of offices in the different departments of the treaſury, for collecting and managing the public revenues, is not the leaſt evil, charged on the national debt, by our ingenious author, and by a cotemporary writer, who has introduced it into a work of another nature*. On this head

" * Witness the commiſſioners, and the multitude of dependents on the cuſtoms in " every port of the kingdom; the commiſſioners of exciſe, and their numerous ſubalterns, " in every inland diſtrict; the poſtmaſters and their ſervants, planted in every town, and " upon every public road; the commiſſioners of the ſtamps, and their diſtributors, which " are full as ſcattered and full as numerous; the officers of the ſalt duty, which, though " a ſpecies of exciſe, and conducted in the ſame manner, are yet made a diſtinct corps " from the ordinary managers of that revenue; the ſurveyors of houſes and windows; the " receivers of the land-tax; the managers of lotteries; and the commiſſioners of hackney-" coaches: all which are either mediately or immediately appointed by the crown, and " removeable at pleaſure, without any reaſon aſſigned. Theſe, it requires but little " penetration to ſee, muſt give that power, on which they depend for ſubſiſtence, an " influence moſt amazingly extenſive."

Blackſtone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, book i. chap. 8.

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Dr. Price makes one remark, which is too curious to be omitted in this place. "I look upon the public creditors as little better than a "band of penſioners to the government; and it is more than probable, "that had the nation been encumbered with our preſent debts, in the "reigns of king CHARLES I. or JAMES II. the former would never "have loſt his life, nor the latter his crown." To this opinion, I heartily ſubſcribe, but on other principles; and, in the courſe of my reply, I ſhall make this an argument in favour of a large national debt.

THERE are three other grievances, which have been the general topics of converſation, and the ſubjects of moſt of our temporary eſſays in the public prints, on the national debt.

THE FIRST is, the draining the nation of its coin, for ſubſidies to foreign princes; to pay armies on the continent, in times of war; and the intereſt due to foreign ſtockholders, the creditors of the nation. Our internal exchanges, ſay theſe writers, are made in paper, current only at home; but theſe diſburſements muſt be remitted in the precious metals.

THE SECOND is, the pernicious and fatal conſequences of ſtock-jobbing, by which thouſands of families have been ruined, and private credit is every day more or leſs affected: the ſpirit of gaming in the alley, having diffuſed itſelf amongſt mercantile people, who waſte their time, and alienate their property, in purſuit of the viſionary ſchemes of the alley. If one Britiſh ſubject was to acquire a fortune, by ruining another, the evil would be of a private, not of a public nature; for the property loſt and won by jobbing, would only change hands amongſt ourſelves. But ſince thoſe protected ſpies, reſident FOREIGN MINISTERS, under various denominations, by the courteſy of Europe, have been permitted to ſtay with us, after their commiſſions are executed, there is great reaſon to apprehend that their excellencies, with their ſecretaries, agents, and foreign friends, have taken, and will again take advantage of the folly of our people, and, by means of earlier intelligence than it is poſſible for the public to procure, gain immenſe ſums in the alley, which they moſt probably carry out of the kingdom. To anſwer their purpoſes, they may likewiſe continually find us new

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ſubjects of alarm; and when any diſputes ariſe between our courts and theirs, they may retard negociations for adjuſting them amicably, till they have made their fortunes at Jonathan's.

THE THIRD, and the greateſt evil of all in the whole catalogue, is, the number and perpetuity of our taxes, for the payment of the intereſt of the national debt.

To avoid prolixity, the ſum of the heavy grievances complained of, has been confined within the moſt conciſe limits; great care has been taken to load it with as few quotations as poſſible; and it ſhall be my endeavour to obſerve the ſame rules in the refutation I am now to attempt, of every forcible objection to our extenſive public credit, and the funding ſyſtem built thereon.

IN the firſt place then, in anſwer to Mr. Hume, I preſume to aſſert, "That the nation muſt ſupport, not deſtroy PUBLIC CREDIT; and "that PUBLIC CREDIT cannot deſtroy the nation."

THE arguments I advanced, and the proofs I adduced in ſupport of this new hypotheſis, thoſe of my readers who attended my lectures repeatedly, will eaſily remember, eſpecially as ſeveral gentlemen took notes; and I am obliged to mention this circumſtance once for all, becauſe my ſentiments then delivered, and the clear reaſonings of Mr. Pinto, ſince publiſhed, ſo perfectly coincide, that it would otherwiſe be very hard to diſcriminate our ideas; for we happen to have expreſſed ourſelves as nearly as it is poſſible (conſidering the different idioms of the two languages) in the ſame terms; and we differ only in one point, that of ſtock-jobbing, a ſubject which will require a critical diſcuſſion under a ſeparate head.

IT has been premiſed, that the defence of public credit, and of the funding ſyſtem maintained by it, is only undertaken in a comparative view; or, in other words, as preferable to any other plan, conſidering the circumſtances, and the political ſituation of Great Britain ſince the Revolution. Had Mr. Hume, or any other writer, ſuggeſted a practical method of raiſing the large annual ſupplies which this kingdom has wanted in three ſucceſſive wars, by perennial, or by any other ways and means, leſs burthenſome to the people, and better adapted to

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the political freedom of our conſtitution; there could be no neceſſity for inſiſting that public credit muſt be ſupported, and even extended, as far as it will bear, in defiance of ſpeculative oppoſition.

In hiſtorical deductions relative to civilized nations, where the ſyſtem of government is likely to continue on the ſame plan for any number of years, not being liable to the frequent ſhocks and ſudden revolutions of deſpotic monarchies, we have a right to reaſon upon future, from paſt events. On this principle, I beg leave to ſuppoſe, that Great Britain, at ſome future period, may be engaged in a war, which ſhall require military operations, as various and as expenſive as thoſe of the year 1761; and permit me to throw into the ſcale, a negociation, ſet on foot by her enemies, for a peace, which ſhould accompliſh every object ſhe had in view in carrying on the war.

To ſupport theſe military operations, in different quarters of the globe, with vigour, that we might be enabled in ſome meaſure to dictate the conditions of peace, ſword in hand, and at the ſame time to ſtrike full conviction, of our ability to continue the war, home to our enemy's court, an able miniſter, enjoying the confidence of the nation, demands ſupplies to the amount of TWELVE MILLIONS ſterling, over and above the annual, permanent revenue of the ſtate.

In ſuch a ſituation, what other reſource could we poſſibly have, but that very public credit, and that identical funding ſyſtem, ſo loudly complained of?

Suppose all the declaimers againſt the national debt ſummoned to repair to the cabinet of the miniſter, or to deliver their ſentiments to the legiſlative body of the nation in parliament; is there any one of their projects that would raiſe the twelve millions in queſtion, by voluntary ſubſcriptions from opulent ſubjects; by a mode equally agreeable to our ideas of civil liberty, and accompanied with that facility and diſpatch which the exigency of the caſe would require? I confeſs I never yet met with a propoſal that offered ſo much as the ſhadow of ſuch powerful aids to government, at a criſis when its commerce, its national glory, and its political exiſtence, as a free, independant ſtate, were at ſtake; and I have not drawn an ideal, illuſive

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illuſive ſcene of ſome future period, merely to ſport with your imaginations. Let the candid reader only caſt a retroſpective glance over the events of the year 1761, and he will find, that the ſituation and circumſtances juſt deſcribed, were nearly, if not exactly, thoſe of the Britiſh nation at that period.

We had no alternative in that memorable year; but either to depend on public credit, which had been conſolidated, by the ſucceſsful adminiſtration of the miniſter; or to abandon all our glorious enterprizes by ſea and land, and yield to the firſt offers of peace made by the court of Verſailles, privately countenanced and ſupported by that of Madrid.

In this, and on every ſimilar ſituation in which this nation may be hereafter placed, every rational well-wiſher to his country muſt own, that the advantages of public credit, by which we have contracted the national debt, more than indemnify us for all the real and imaginary evils it is ſaid to have engendered.

The happy conſequences that followed the grant of TWELVE MILLIONS extra, for the year 1761, furniſh me with a very ſhort anſwer to one of the grievances mentioned by HUME, PRICE and BLACKSTONE, and already laid before you.

It appears, from the events of that year, and from others, both of a prior and later date, that our national debt, inſtead of having a very bad effect on our tranſactions with foreign powers, has a very good one. For what power is there on earth that will not dread a nation whoſe revenue reſources are infinite, by means of public credit; and whoſe ſubjects, however divided into parties in the idle times of peace, all unite, with the ſpirit and virtue of the ancient Romans, at the call of common danger; and exert a well combined, active force, to repel a common enemy, or to ſupport their national glory!

Or what power will preſume to propoſe to ſuch a nation, diſhonable terms of peace, when at war; if a good underſtanding ſubſiſts between the king and the people; and a miniſter is at the helm of government, who is entitled to the confidence of both!

Our national debt, therefore, is no national grievance in this reſpect;

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and every argument having a tendency to ſhew that we are thereby made tributary to, or are intimidated by, foreign powers, ſhould be conſidered as the effect of ignorance; or of intereſted motives, which may prompt men to publiſh ſuch declarations, to juſtify a culpable timidity or ſupineneſs, when foreign powers, in times of peace, preſume to inſult a kingdom, ſo formidable by its naval power, and ſo fertile in reſources, by means of its public credit.

THE mal-adminiſtration and miſapplication of the immenſe ſums raiſed on the ſolidity of our national credit, is a different ſubject: it is an abuſe by no means chargeable on the funding ſyſtem itſelf; and, therefore, not to be confounded with it in our exculpation of public credit. This is an error into which our opponents have fallen, but which we muſt carefully avoid; for it will be diſcovered, on a nearer view, that all the ills reſulting from the eſtabliſhment of public credit, ariſe from impolitic and partial taxes; from an unjuſt diſtribution of them; from the expenſive mode of collecting them; and from a corrupt diſſipation of their produce when collected: and that the plan of public credit, freed from theſe excreſcences, is a maſter-piece of human policy.

IT is with great reluctance I find myſelf obliged to expoſe another very capital error in Mr. Hume's Eſſay on Public Credit; but as Mr. Pinto has taken the ſame liberty, I hope he will excuſe it in a fellow-citizen. The capital advantage we derive from public credit, is an encreaſed CIRCULATION of a ſign or repreſentative of the precious metals, anſwering all the purpoſes, in our domeſtic intercourſes with each other, of the greateſt abundance of coin; and it is the great circulation ſo freely and extenſively carried on through all parts of the kingdom, which regenerates public credit, and multiplies the riches and national power of the ſtate: in fine, it is this circulation which raiſes us fleets and armies, and enables this little iſland, an inconſiderable ſpot on the map of the world, to hold empire and dominion in its moſt diſtant regions, and to enrich its inhabitants, by the profits of a commercial intercourſe with every known part of it.

YET this CIRCULATION Mr. Hume declares he does not underſtand; he ſays, it is a word which is here in the mouth of every body; and has

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has alſo got abroad, and is much employed by foreign writers, in imitation of the Engliſh; that it ſerves as an account for every thing; and that though he has ſought for its meaning, in the preſent ſubject, ever ſince he was a ſchool-boy, he had never yet been able to diſcover it: he then aſks, what poſſible advantage the nation can reap by the eaſy transference of ſtock from hand to hand; or if there is any parallel to be drawn from the circulation of other commodities, to that of chequer-notes and India bonds? Strange indeed it is, that this truly reſpectable author ſhould anſwer his own problem in his very next page; that he ſhould explain the meaning of CIRCULATION, as it reſpects public credit, in the happieſt terms; and the beſt adapted to point out the ſignal advantages the nation derives from it! "Public "ſecurities are, with us, become a kind of money, and paſs as readily "at the current price, as gold or ſilver. Our national debts furniſh "our merchants with a ſpecies of money that is continually multiplying "in their hands, and produces ſure gain, beſides the profits of their "commerce."

IT ſhould ſeem as if Mr. Hume is now fully convinced of the important meaning of the word CIRCULATION, applied to our funds; ſince Mr. Pinto mentions his having had a converſation with him at Paris, in which he expreſſed his acknowledgments to the author of the Treatiſe on Circulation for having refuted him*; and we have great reaſon to hope, from his moſt amiable character, that he will rectify the miſtaken notions he has publiſhed on this ſubject; for as they come from ſo able a pen, they may hurt the cauſe of public credit, being

* De tous ceux qui ont pris le change ſur la dette nationale d'Angleterre, aucun ne m'a ſurpris d'avantage que le célebre Mr. Hume. Jai eu l'honneur de le connoître à Paris, & j'ai reconnu avec un plaiſir infini, que ſon caractere étoit ſupérieur à ſon eſprit; c'eſt à la verité qu'il doit cet eloge. Ce grand homme à ecrit avant la derniere paix, un Eſſai ſur le Credit Public, que je n'avois pas lu lorſque je compoſai la premiere partie de mon Eſſai ſur la Circulation. On me l'a indiqué depuis, et jai eté d'abord faché de trouver que mon ecrit parût preciſément une réfutation du ſien. Il vint quelques-tems après à Paris; il fut trés content de mon eſſai; je me flatte que M. Hume rectifiéra un jour quelques-unes de ſes idées ſur la circulation et le credit public. *Traité de Circulation*, &c.

read and believed by thouſands, who may never condeſcend to peruſe the refutations of his ſentiments, by writers of leſs note.

THE late celebrated Biſhop of Cloyne, Dr. Berkeley, gave me the firſt idea of oppoſing the popular opinion; that the national debt is a great grievance. A ſhort time before I wrote my little treatiſe on the funds, intitled, Every Man his own Broker, I accidentally met with the following queſtions, in a pamphlet, publiſhed in Ireland, called the Queriſt.

"WHETHER the credit of the public funds is not a mine of gold to "England; and whether any meaſures taken to diminiſh it, are not to "be greatly dreaded?

"WHETHER this credit is not the principal advantage England has "over France, and indeed over all the ſtates of Europe?"

FROM the inſtant I peruſed theſe queſtions, I determined them in the affirmative; in fact, they ſeemed ſelf-evident propoſitions: yet as many perſons, who had made the funds a particular ſtudy, both wrote and ſpoke againſt them, with great vehemence, and apparent ſtrength of argument, it became neceſſary to produce proofs, drawn from daily obſervation, from the actual circumſtances of the kingdom, and from the great events accompliſhed ſolely by means of that public credit and national debt, which men ſo generally decried.

THE theory of the funds was then but little known; and though the effects of our public credit grew every day more and more aſtoniſhing, yet, but little enquiry was made into the principles on which it proceeded. Even the very miniſters who experienced its fertility, had little more than precedent to go by. No wonder, therefore, that every breath of rumour ſhould affect theſe funds; or that timid people ſhould feel all the horrors of an expectant national bankruptcy; which might reduce them, in a moment, from a ſtate of affluence to abject poverty. It was very evident, that the increaſe of paper credit, by promoting a general circulation of a new ſpecies of money, quickened induſtry and labour, and augmented not only the value, but the demand, for the produce of every art and manufacture. But the grand difficulty was, how to explain the univerſality of this circulation, the

nature

nature of its powers, the effects it operates, and the ſolidity of its baſis, PUBLIC CREDIT, in ſo clear a manner as to be comprehended by the maſs of perſons intereſted in the ſubject; and to remove the prejudices and prepoſſeſſions of men of learning and candour, who, equally ſollicitous for the proſperity of their country, ſtrenuouſly inſiſt on the neceſſity of deſtroying public credit, by annihilating the national debt; while myſelf, and ſome cotemporary writers, contend for the cultivation and ſupport of this bulwark of the ſtate.

HERE, I once again acknowledge mine, and the nation's obligation, to our friend at the Hague: his treatiſe, written expreſsly to clear up this point, has made the doctrine of circulation intelligent to the meaneſt capacity. It is poſſible, my illuſtrations might be ſatisfactory to thoſe gentlemen who attended my lectures; but on ſo general a ſubject, concurrent opinions, and the cleareſt demonſtrations are expected, if they can be obtained. I have therefore tranſlated ſuch parts of this celebrated treatiſe, as are requiſite to clear up all doubts concerning the benefits we have derived from the national debt, by means of public credit; and incorporated them with my own explanations on the ſame ſubject.

" THE national debt of England has enriched the nation; and thus " I prove it. By every new loan the government, through the means " of appropriating certain taxes to pay the intereſt, created a new and " artificial capital, which exiſted not before, which becomes per- " manent, fixed, ſolid; and which, by the aſſiſtance of public credit, " circulates to the public advantage, as much as if it was an actual " treaſure in money with which the kingdom was enriched." At the ſame time let it be remembered, that the real principal ſum borrowed, and which this artificial capital ſupplies the place of to the lenders, becomes the reſource of the ſtate, for ſupporting its national glory; and for protecting and extending its commerce, by which the relative riches of the whole kingdom are likewiſe multiplied. " Let us take, " for example, the TWELVE MILLIONS which England borrowed in " 1761; let us examine what became of them. Is it not true, that " a great part of this ſum was expended in the nation? (he ſhould

have

" have ſaid, and its colonies) the ſubſidies, and a part of what was " expended in Germany, is all that can be called an entire loſs. I ſay " a part only; becauſe the Engliſh profited by ſundry contracts for " ſupplying the armies on the continent, in which their own ſubjects " were employed; beſides, in watering Germany, they only fertilize a " country by whoſe commerce they are benefited. The riches of " Germany always turn to the advantage of the commercial nations. " But I will confine myſelf ſolely to this obſervation: it is inconteſtably " true, that a great part of this loan was employed and circulated in " the kingdom. Thus England preſerved within itſelf a great part of " theſe twelve millions, which were diſperſed and abſorbed at home; " and the numerary riches of her creditors, for the moſt part her own " ſubjects, was beſides augmented by twelve millions which did not " exiſt before.

" It is evident then, that in 1762, there muſt be found a great " number of perſons, in the Engliſh nation, who had made their " fortunes, and been enriched by the expenditure of the twelve millions " borrowed by government, for the public ſervice, in the year 1761; " and who conſequently are in a condition, in their turn, to lend to " that government which has enriched them: and this is what actually " happens. They reſtore the ſame ſpecie they have received; nnd the " lenders of the preceding, have a new fund of credit, by means of " which they are enabled to draw new ſpecie from foreigners and " natives, to ſubſcribe to new funds; which proves,

" 1, The augmentation of the numerary riches of the ſtate," by the creation of artificial capitals;

" 2, That the loans are always made with nearly the ſame ſpecie;

" 3, That the old funds favour the creation of new loans; and,

" 4, That they have enriched the nation.

" If you would have a more convincing proof that the nominal " capital of about one hundred and thirty millions ſterling, which the " Engliſh nation has in annuities, and other fictitious funds, or the " greateſt part of them, would not have exiſted without the creation " of theſe funds; you have only to aſk, in what this capital muſt

conſiſt,

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"conſiſt, in caſe there were no ſuch funds? Could it be in money? "Is there ſo much in all Europe, ſilver plate excepted? Could it be "in lands? The confines of Great Britain cannot be extended. The "value of lands is already conſiderably augmented; and without an "increaſed population, they cannot be meliorated *. Could it be in "ſhips, or in commerce? Theſe two objects have likewiſe their limits, "proportioned to the number of inhabitants. Commodities cannot be "amaſſed beyond the demand for them; and too many merchants are "prejudicial to commerce. When commerce has abſorbed as much "money as it can employ, more becomes uſeleſs; it is not in the "nature of things, that the commerce of any nation ſhould keep con- "ſtantly augmenting, and that it ſhould abſorb larger and larger ſums "of money, in a perpetual gradation. Where then could theſe "millions, which make a great part of the riches of the nation, exiſt? "They muſt, of neceſſity, exiſt in foreign countries. This would be "dangerous, if it were poſſible.

"But ſuppoſe we could add theſe one hundred and thirty millions "(which exiſt only by the funding ſyſtem) to the actual ſpecie; the "ſtate would ſuffer a repletion of ſpecie, which would overturn its "œconomy: for this money, if it were poſſible it ſhould exiſt, would "not remain in the Exchequer, it would be ſcattered all over the "kingdom; it would then entirely loſe its quality; commodities of "every kind would be enhanced to more than three times their "intrinſic worth; and every proportion of commerce would be "deſtroyed."

Our countryman, Sir James Stuart, throws the ſame light upon this part of the ſubject, in his excellent work: he points out the conſequences of refunding to the creditors the immenſe capitals which form the national debt; he ſuppoſes a treaſure brought from India to diſcharge it; and then inconteſtably proves, "that circulation would

* Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, and Lord Chancellor Bacon, in his Life of Henry the Seventh, aſſert, that it is pernicious to convert arable land into paſturage: yet this is our daily practice; therefore, population muſt decreaſe, and our lands cannot be improved.

"be

" be ſo glutted and ſtagnated with money, that intereſt would fall to " nothing:" in another place, he gives an inſtance of the effect of money regorging in the hands of private individuals, grown rich by the laſt war. " The peace was made in 1763; between that period and " 1766, many of our countrymen had placed money in the French " actions; till ſuch raſh adventurers were checked by the operations of " the French miniſtry, in reducing both capital and intereſt upon them, " contrary to the original ſtipulations with the creditors. This fortunate " circumſtance, not only prevented our own ſubjects from veſting " more property in the French funds, but it brought back part of the " ſums ſhe had expended on the continent during the war, and engaged " numbers of foreigners to purchaſe into our funds."

HAD it not been for this event, the intereſt of money muſt have fallen to three *per cent*: as it was, ſtocks roſe; and government found new employment for this increaſe of ſpecie in 1766, by a loan of 1,500,000*£*. to diſcharge unfunded debts; and by the ſale of vaſt tracts of land in the new acquired ſettlements; the ceded iſlands in the Weſt-Indies. Nothing more is wanting to prove that, after every war, money will flow in beyond the demands for it in trade; beyond what is required for common uſe; and that, if new means are not found to engage it in a profitable circulation, it will become uſeleſs, if not pernicious: it will be uſeleſs if it is unemployed; it will be pernicious if, by being diſperſed and diſſipated all over the kingdom, it raiſes any neceſſary of life to an exorbitant price, ſo that thoſe who have little or no property, the lower claſſes of the people, cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt their families.

ONE would imagine no other refutation could be neceſſary for all projectors, who harraſs us with ſchemes for paying off the national debt: yet we muſt reſume this point, under a ſeparate head, in order to prove, beyond a doubt, the abſurdity of ſuch projects.

BUT to return to our author---" The enormous ſum which compoſes " the national debt, never exiſted altogether; the magic of credit and " of circulation has produced this maſs of riches ſucceſſively with the " ſame

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" ſame ſpecie *. The portion which really exiſts in ſpecie, is ſufficient " to give to each branch of the public funds, by turns, its intrinſic " value, without exceeding the bounds of an eaſy and uſeful circulation. " The public funds are the magnets of money: what I advance is " literally true; for the poſſeſſors of the old funds, when they engaged " to ſupply the government with new loans, not only raiſed money " within the kingdom by ſelling out conſolidated annuities, but by " mortgaging theſe annuities to foreigners; by which means they were " enabled to draw for larger ſums than it would have been poſſible for " them to have obtained on private credit; and thus, at critical times, " to ſerve their purpoſe, they ſwept away almoſt all the unemployed " money of Europe, keeping it till circulation had time to recover " itſelf, and the new loans to be diſtributed into divers hands.

" The whole world has been ſurpriſed, and even aſtoniſhed, to ſee " ſuch ſums as twelve millions borrowed for ſeveral years conſe- " cutively; theſe loans were made (ſolely) with the aid of the old " funds, under the auſpices of credit and circulation. Behold the " ſolution of this great problem, or finance phænomenon!"

Will it not be amazing indeed, if, after having read what this ingenious author has aſſerted, who, from his ſituation and connections, muſt have been well acquainted with the money negociations of our government agents in Holland; and the account I ſhall likewiſe give of the advantages of this mode of borrowing the money of foreigners to carry on our wars, and to extend our commerce; men ſhould be ſo ignorant, or ſo prejudiced, as to look upon the national debt to be a deſtructive evil; which more than counterbalances all our ſignal ſucceſſes by ſea and land, during the laſt war, and all our commercial profits derived from the ſame ſource?

It is beyond a doubt that, in proportion as the exigencies of the

* Our author carries this idea rather too far, though he is perfectly right in his hypotheſis, upon the whole. He forgets the new ſums brought into the kingdom in ſpecie from Spain; the returns from India, both by the Company and private individuals, who made immenſe fortunes in that part of the world; the amount of the ſale of prizes; and ſeveral other acquiſitions during the war, converted into ſpecie, which ſerved to furniſh the ſums for new loans.

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ſtate required large ſupplies and new loans, its internal, as well as its foreign expences, muſt have been multiplied: hence an increaſed demand for the produce of almoſt every art and manufacture in the kingdom; and the money of foreigners, as well as natives, attracted by the magnetic virtue of public credit, muſt have been freely circulated, to anſwer theſe extra demands. The progreſs of induſtry and labour thus invigorated and quickened, we may well ſuppoſe, that the returns in many trades, connected with the war, were more than doubled; conſequently, likewiſe the profits. If to theſe be added, the advantages of commiſſions from foreign princes with whom we were in alliance; the increaſed exports to our ſettlements abroad, and to our fleets and armies, during the war; and the purchaſe of lands in the ceded iſlands; it will require no minute calculations to prove that, upon an average, the trading ſubjects of this kingdom, from the farmer to the merchant, made upwards of ten *per cent. per annum*, of the money borrowed from foreigners and natives, by government, at little more than four *per cent*: here then ariſes a profit of near ſix *per cent.* to enable the people to bear the burden of an increaſe of taxes, and to give them a freſh contributive faculty to ſubſcribe to new loans. But, if I am rightly informed, by perſons converſant in mercantile affairs, the profits in moſt branches of the arts and manufactures (the demands for which were triple during the war) cannot be eſtimated at leſs than twelve *per cent*; and as to the diſpoſal of the money beginning to regorge ſince the peace, ſome part has been laid out to an advantage of not leſs than twenty-five *per cent.* in the iſlands of Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. It is needleſs to uſe further arguments in favour of a ſyſtem which has ſupported us ſo advantageouſly, and given us ſuch power and influence, as a body politic, among the nations of the earth, upwards of half a century.

The panic with which France was ſtruck, when, towards the cloſe of a ſucceſsful, but very expenſive war, ſhe ſaw the Britiſh miniſtry raiſe twelve millions (nay, in fact, ſixteen; for four millions were granted in 1761, by Exchequer bills, and the aid of the ſinking fund) at the very time when ſhe had totally loſt her credit, haſtened the

peace;

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and propriety of our taxes, I cannot but look upon them as a check upon any plan of actual deſpotiſm, which might produce an effective change in our conſtitution.

As a ſolution of this problem, let it be remembered, that the ſubſiſtence of theſe people depends on the funding ſyſtem; and that this ſyſtem can only be ſupported by the ſtability of public credit, which ultimately depends on the conſtitution of the ſtate: change this but in one material inſtance; nay, without wounding its vitals, make but one advance to it, which I will point out, and the whole herd of placemen belonging to the revenue-department would be converted to ſtaunch patriots. Suppoſe the king to ſuſpend the ſitting of parliament for three years; the annual grants of the land and malt-tax being thereby ſuſpended, no further ſtep could be wanting to ſhake the fabric of public credit to its center. The creditors of the public, both foreign and domeſtic, juſtly alarmed for the payment of the intereſts of their funds, and deprived of the ſanction which the annual ſeſſion of parliament gives to public credit, would withdraw their property from the funds as faſt as poſſible; their intrinſic value would not be equal to two thirds of the nominal capitals; and every placeman and penſioner in the kingdom would clamour for the ſitting of the parliament; dreading the ſuſpenſion of his ſalary, or the annihilation of his office. Yet before there was a national debt, it was no uncommon thing for the parliament not to meet annually: and in times of peace, provided there were no laws to amend, ſtrengthen or preſerve, nor any grievances to redreſs, the conſequences might not be very great; but in the preſent ſituation of our finances, ſuch a ſtep muſt be conſidered as having a tendency to deſpotiſm; and, like all others of a ſimilar nature that can be ſuppoſed, would affect placemen and penſioners as much or more, in proportion to their dependency, than any other perſons in the kingdom.

THAT the weight of the national debt checks the exertion of the ſpirit of liberty in this kingdom, I readily believe; but I am clearly convinced that this is atoned for, by the greater reſtraints laid on any tendency to deſpotiſm on the part of the crown. To review the turbulent ſcenes that have been lately exhibited in the metropolis, the ſeat of government;

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" quantity of the works of art. All the means of doing it were obliged " to be trebled; and if it had not been for the augmentation of the " ſigns of value, which form artificial money (or riches) neither " commerce nor luxury could have ſubſiſted.

" I THEREFORE maintain it, that the facultative power, or the " metallic riches of the Engliſh nation, could not poſſibly ſuffice for " the objects which the diſcovery of America has gradually produced; " and that the Engliſh government could never have borrowed ſuch " immenſe ſums," neceſſary for the ſecurity and improvement of her commerce, " without the aid of that circulation, which the creation " of its funds produced. Credit protects credit; circulation favours " circulation; and the public funds and paper ſupport freſh funds and " freſh paper, by furniſhing the ſprings of circulation, and by the " game carried on in the funds *. The national debt is thus become " the aliment of commerce; the ſupport and the remedy of the luxury " that it ſometimes engenders: it has enriched the nation, and put it " in a condition to pay its taxes.

" THE reſult of theſe principles is, that the firſt debts of the nation " have enabled us to continue contracting new debts, in proportion as " the exigencies of the ſtate required this aid. The effect of the power " has become the cauſe of it. Gold and ſilver lowered in their quality " of ſigns, or common mediums of our exchanges with each other, " the price of all commodities is trebled; and when we ſay that every " thing is dear, we ſhould ſay, that money is not ſo precious, the " repreſentatives of the value of all commodities being multiplied by " paper credit; by which means there is a greater abundance of real " and artificial wealth.

" IT will be ſaid, that a man with three thouſand pounds *per annum*, " is not richer than he would have been with one thouſand, in former " times. We grant it; but there are in Europe twenty perſons who " have three thouſand *per annum*, to one who had a thouſand, two " centuries paſt: and this likewiſe accounts for the enhanced price of " manufactures, and all the neceſſaries of life.

* THIS argument is fallacious, and is the only object of controverſy I ſhall have with this ingenious author.

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"LET us conclude then, upon the whole, that nations which have "a foreign commerce to carry on with different remote countries, "receive more good than evil from the public debts; the advantages "greatly overbalancing all the disadvantages, so long as the good "opinion of the faith of government can be kept up amongst the "people."

To strengthen and confirm that good opinion, by answering every possible objection to the system of funding, is the chief design of this work: and one of the means must be to demonstrate, that stock-jobbing is the greatest evil attending it; but an evil, the thorough knowledge of which destroys its force, and becomes its natural remedy.

ON

ON

STOCK-JOBBING,

CONSIDERED AS A

Conſequence of Public Credit, and the Funding Syſtem.

THE moſt ſingular phœnomenon that has appeared in the literary world, for many years, is, a writer in ſupport of the infamous and iniquitous practice of ſtock-jobbing: undoubtedly, the ſtrongeſt objection to the mode of raiſing money for the ſervice of the ſtate, on the funding ſyſtem; and which alone ought to determine government to adopt ſome other, if any could be pointed out, with leſs conſequent inconveniences, and as great national advantages.

THE author of the treatiſe on Circulation, has extended his chain of reaſoning on this ſubject to too great a length, and has thereby weakened its force; the laſt link is defective, and muſt be repaired, to preſerve the gradation and dependance of one part on the other, and the ſymmetry of the whole.

THAT I may not be charged with any miſrepreſentation, I ſhall follow my uſual cuſtom, by giving a faithful tranſlation of his own words. The novelty of the ſubject muſt be my apology for the length of this quotation, from a work which will not appear entire in Engliſh; its chief merit being compriſed in leſs than one third of its volume.

" THE advantages which the government of England has drawn from " ſtock-jobbers *, are, without contradiction, immenſe. If any one " ſhould aſk me, after this declaration, what I think of this buſineſs, I " muſt freely confeſs that I would diſſuade my children, my neigh-

* The term in the original is *actioniſts*; no ſuch word is to be found in our very defective French dictionaries: but our author uſes it indiſcriminately, as ſynonymous to *agioteurs*; which Boyer renders, *ſtock-jobbers*.

" bours,

" bours, and my friends, from meddling with it. It requires a man " thoroughly verſed in the profeſſion; one who devotes his time ſolely " to this object *. When men engage in it, as it often happens, to " mend a fortune, or to make one rapidly, it becomes a more dangerous " game than any other. It accelerates the ruin it is intended to " prevent; for he, whom we think ruined by ſtock-jobbing, has only " had recourſe to it, becauſe he began to be ſo by other cauſes; and " he probably might have prevented it, if, inſtead of making uſe of " this ſeducing and dangerous expedient, he had cut to the quick at " firſt, by a prudent œconomy; by changing his condition; by ſur- " mounting the opinion of others; and by reigning over himſelf.

" STOCK-JOBBING has ſeveral branches; it is a very complicated " object: it may be carried on, with prudence, and a ſure profit, by " making a proper uſe of our funds, almoſt without running any of " the riſks of the game. When ſpeculations in the funds are made " within the ſphere of the abilities (of the capital) of the ſpeculator, " not ſuffering himſelf to be governed by brokers (or other jobbers) " it is leſs hazardous than any other game."

So far reſpects individuals; in which the pro and con is tolerably ballanced: and, upon the whole, I think that, even on the footing Mr. Pinto puts it, few rational men will preſume ſo much on their own ſkill in this intricate ſcience, as to engage in it, if they have any funds to loſe; but if an inclination to adventure, ſhould ſtill haunt any perſon of property, in the ſhape of his evil genius, the peruſal of my little manual referred to in the note, will effectually lay the ſpirit.

IF few people of property, arrived at the full maturity of underſtanding, embark on this perilous bottom (and I believe the number leſſens every day) then great part of the following arguments, in favour of this practice, as it regards the government, fall to the ground.

" STOCK-JOBBERS draw all the money out of cheſts, and make it " circulate for the ſervice of government, when any new loans are on " foot. The facility of ſelling theſe funds, for time, and of giving

* See Every Man his own Broker, ſeventh edition, p. 64.

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" and receiving premiums (differences) on them, in the firſt place, " induces many people to purchaſe them, who would not, if it were " not for theſe advantages.

" SECONDLY, There are a great number of monied people in " England and in Holland, who never definitively veſt their money in " the new loans, that they may not run any riſks by them in time of " war. But what do they do? They place ten, fifteen, or twenty " thouſand pounds in annuities *, which they ſell to the jobbers for a " time; by which means they make great intereſt of their money, " without being ſubject to the variations of the funds, which are for " account of the brokers, or jobbers. Theſe tranſactions are continued " for years, and for millions: it is by favour of this practice that the " government of England has been enabled to borrow repeatedly ſuch " large ſums, which, independant of jobbing, and the ingenious " means that ſtock-jobbers make uſe of, would have been abſolutely " impoſſible; ſo that the government of England has, by this game, " ſwept away not only the money of thoſe who wanted to place it " definitively in their funds, but of thoſe likewiſe who did not want " to be concerned in theſe funds. I believe this is a ſecret they were " not acquainted with; and I am happy to have revealed it."

I CANNOT conceive that our adminiſtrations were ever ignorant of all the poſſible tranſactions of the alley: this, on which Mr. Pinto lays ſo much ſtreſs, is certainly not ſo advantageous to government as he imagines; for if higher intereſt is made by this method, than the government gives to the public in general, either for the old funds or the new loans, it is a manifeſt diſadvantage; and the more ſo, if this high intereſt or profit goes out of the kingdom to foreigners. Indeed, there is no ſuch thing as calculating what government may pay for the ſums it is enabled to borrow by this game; it may be ſix, or eight, or

* IT is not very clear whether Mr. Pinto means in the old funds, or the new loans; but, from his former reaſoning, I ſhould conclude he means the old, which are generally very low before and while new loans are circulating; beſides, this is conformable to his principle: " That the old funds contribute to the creation of the new." His argument, however, is exactly the ſame, underſtand it which way we will.

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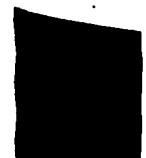

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as any of the jobbing kind! One would be apt to think our author writes from the experience of himſelf and his friends, who might have hit the lucky moments for buying and ſelling during the laſt war; when nothing but the frequent neceſſities of government lowered the price; and when our ſignal, repeated ſucceſſes, gave frequent opportunities to ſell at a conſiderable advantage. But, reverſe the caſe; and ſuppoſe a chain of unfortunate events in war, and the fallacy of the ſcheme is apparent. As to leaving the riſk of the variations to their brokers, or jobbers, I own I do not underſtand it; and I intreat the author, or his friends in England, to ſet me and the public right, if in any inſtance I have unwittingly miſunderſtood him.

I ADMIT the poſtulatum, that theſe tranſactions aſſiſt the government in their new loans; but I deny that they do it advantageouſly: and I aſſert, that it is poſſible for an able miniſter, at the head of the Treaſury, to borrow twelve millions yearly, if neceſſity requires it, of both natives and foreigners, in time of war, without any ſuch medium, or any other branch of ſtock-jobbing. This I will prove, under the next general head.

ANOTHER aid to the circulation of the new loans, our author ſays, is the facility of mortgaging them; in other words, of pawning the ſubſcription receipts: this enables thoſe who have ſubſcribed for much larger ſums than they can poſſibly hold, not having capitals equal to their engagements, to hold the receipts for large nominal ſums, during the courſe of two, three, or more payments of ten or fifteen *per cent.*, till an opportunity offers to ſell the whole to advantage.

THIS is one of the moſt powerful motives with many people, perhaps with the majority, to take a part in the new loans; and is the reaſon why the ſubſcription, even before it comes to the market, generally bears a premium: the ſecond purchaſers are willing to allow the original ſubſcribers a ſmall profit, in hopes of a greater; and ſome of thoſe ſubſcribers, having got their names upon the liſt for ſums which they are not able to anſwer, are as glad to diſpoſe of them for the firſt profit that offers. If the ſecond or third purchaſers in the courſe of circulation at market, are holders of the ſubſcription receipts at the time

time of a payment, and have not money in hand, the bankers and opulent merchants lend the ſum requiſite, make the payment, and keep the receipts as a depoſit. The intereſt paid for the advance of a certain proportional ſum, is amply compenſated, by the turn of the ſcale, in favour of the whole nominal capital. A receipt for 1000*£*. in annuities, is held for 150*£*. the firſt depoſit: the ſecond payment (about one month, or five weeks after) is generally ten *per cent*. We will ſuppoſe this borrowed of a banker, till within a day or two of the third payment: the intereſt for forty days, at five *per cent*. is but 10*s*. 11*d*. ½: let us now admit that the loan riſes at market, at the time given, only one *per cent*; a premium, or difference is received, by ſelling the whole, of 10*£*. from which deduct the intereſt you have paid for the loan of 150*£* to make the ſecond payment, and the remainder will be 9*l*. 9*s*. 0*d*. ½: a very pretty advantage made of the uſe of 150*£*. for three months! A greater facility cannot be given to government, than the allurements of ſuch profits: but government is by no means indebted to ſtock-jobbing for this aid, as Mr. Pinto aſſerts; it is the natural effect of the admirable mode of raiſing the ſupplies*: and nothing but the intervention of the cunning devices of the ſtock-jobbers, equally pernicious to government, and to the people concerned in the funds, could bring into diſcredit, and render hazardous, a tranſaction, founded on the fair principles of commerce and exchange. To depoſit a proper ſecurity for the loan of money, to anſwer an emergency, whether it be in merchandiſe or paper, is an equitable, expedient cuſtom; and to take legal intereſt for the advance of monies upon ſuch ſecurities, is fair and honourable. It is likewiſe every man's buſineſs to gain as much as he can, honeſtly, by the purchaſe he makes, whether it be of a horſe, or of a ſubſcription receipt. But if the poſſeſſor of either takes illegal methods to raiſe their value, or if the perſon who lends money on either, and receives them into cuſtody as a depoſit till they

* For an account of the methods of raiſing the annual ſupplies, granted by parliament, for defraying the public expences of the ſtate, in time of war, and of buying and ſelling the ſubſcription receipts for annuities, ſee Every Man his own Broker, ſeventh edition, chap. iv.

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are redeemed, makes uſe of the baſeſt ſtratagems to diminiſh their value, or to terrify or diſtreſs the owner into the abſolute diſpoſal of them, conſiderably beneath their real worth, ſuch wretches ought to be conſidered as the peſts of human ſociety; and in this light I conſider all ſtock-jobbers: for every mean artifice, every ſcandalous forgery of falſe reports, however detrimental to their country and to their fellow-ſubjects, is practiſed, to raiſe and to fall the price of the public funds. Mr. Pinto acknowledges this melancholy truth; but confines the inexhauſtible manufactories of falſe news to London; when, it is well known that two thirds of this vile fabrication is imported from Holland, by every mail, in time of war: he confeſſes, that this is a moſt injurious practice, tending to the deſtruction of public credit and the ruin of individuals; and there are means, he ſays, to prevent it, but he reſerves it to himſelf to declare them at a convenient time and place; yet he ſtill inſiſts that this branch of jobbing has facilitated circulation; and that, without it, the Engliſh government muſt have miſcarried in its enterprizes during the laſt war. His arguments on this ſubject are ſingular, ſpecious, and worthy our notice, if it were only for their novelty.

" If, for want of the aid of ſtock-jobbing, the power of England to " borrow had mounted only to two thirds of what ſhe actually raiſed, " (with the aſſiſtance of gaming in the alley) ſhe would probably have " loſt theſe two thirds; the advantages the Engliſh gained would not " have taken place, and they would have ſuffered as great loſſes as they " had ſignal ſucceſſes in the laſt war.

" When we ſtand in need of a power equal to ten, and are maſters " of only five, the proportion is not as two to one, but frequently " as ten to nothing: for what we employ is totally loſt; becauſe feeble " efforts become uſeleſs, nay even pernicious, and turn againſt their " agent. Slowneſs engenders ſlowneſs, and weakneſs greater weakneſs. If the Engliſh had ſent one third leſs of ſhips and troops to " conquer the Havannah, they would have failed in the enterprize; " and all the expences of the expedition would not only have been " loſt, but this loſs would have occaſioned ſeveral others; and inſtead

" of

"of the treaſures and other advantages which were the fruit of ſucceſs, "every thing would have been reverſed. I do not then exaggerate in "what I advance concerning the inegality of the proportion.

"LET us perform all that is requiſite, or only two thirds; and the "effects, in politics, inſtead of three to two, are, ſometimes, the "whole to nothing. It is therefore on a little ſupplement, that the "ſucceſs of the whole depends; and if ſtock-jobbing, and the money "of foreigners contribute to it, they cannot be too much countenanced "and encouraged: and I have already demonſtrated, that if it were "not for the circulation which gaming in the funds produces, both at "home and abroad, the monied men would never dare to take ſo large "a part in the new loans; nor the ſupplies would not be found with "that aſtoniſhing, requiſite celerity, at the criſis when they are "wanted. It is this ready vent which encourages enterprizes and cir-"culation; that which gaming procures is prodigious; it cannot be "imagined how much it facilitates the means of diſpoſing of one's "funds, at every hour, at every inſtant, and that even of the moſt "conſiderable ſums. It is to this facility which individuals have of "parting with their funds, that England is partly indebted for thoſe "numerous loans which procured her ſuch ſignal ſucceſſes. The "advantage then reſulting from ſtock-jobbers and foreign creditors, "greatly ſurpaſſes all the inconveniences ariſing from them. Both "have been eſſential, and of great utility to England; and they have "contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of her military enterprizes."

THE advantage derived from our foreign creditors has been admitted; but I can by no means allow that any of the branches of ſtock-jobbing, pointed out by our author, have ſo greatly favoured circulation, that they have been the ſupplement, the neceſſary addition to our national reſources, as he mentions. I am, on the contrary, of opinion, that they have greatly depreciated the value of our funds; becauſe, it is very evident, that the money of jobbers was only placed in them *pro tempore*, to extract the eſſence of profit; that this eſſence, and a great part of the ſubſtance being drawn off after the war (when its remaining mixed with the main body no longer anſwered the venal purpoſe of the jobbers) weakened

weakened the reſiduary maſs: no other reaſon can be given why our funds have not riſen ſince the peace, at leaſt fifteen *per cent.*; for if our credit ſtood the teſt of the uncertain iſſues of war, when that of France was totally ruined, and if we then ſwept away all the unemployed money in Europe, might we not reaſonably expect to engroſs it at preſent, when our national credit is firmly eſtabliſhed, on a ſolid, permanent baſis; and when no other power can offer ſuch intereſt, with equal ſecurity, for the large fortunes that have been amaſſed in Holland and England? We might indeed! and our three *per cent* annuities, by the concourſe of purchaſers, would riſe conſiderably above par, if it were not for ſtock-jobbing---the bane of private---the polluter of public credit! which ſounds the alarm to diſtant regions; and, from the report of its fatal effects getting abroad, calls in queſtion the wiſdom of the Britiſh government, in the adminiſtration of its finances, and the ſtability of the plan on which public credit is built.

But to demonſtrate the enormity of the evils of ſtock-jobbing, ſo as to convince all unprejudiced minds, that no real or pretended advantages derived from it, can poſſibly compenſate for its ruinous effects, I muſt lay open a branch of this accurſed traffic, with which Mr. Pinto is either totally unacquainted, or on which he choſe to be ſilent, becauſe it makes his ſide of the ſcales kick againſt the beam.

He ſhould have known, that ſome hundreds of people, both natives and foreigners, reſiding in London, deal largely in the old funds, and in the new loans, without having ever had one penny of property veſted in either.

Another claſs, whoſe numbers exceed the former, with very ſmall capitals, which ſerve as a bait to procure them credit, game for millions in a few years. With the former ſet, the proportion is as nothing to all: with the latter, it is frequently as one to ten thouſand.

He who values not his neck, becauſe he is conſcious it is worth nothing, may take the boldeſt leap. But he who has an enterprizing ſpirit, with one foot in the ſtirrup, will not be far behind him. It is therefore difficult to determine which does the moſt miſchief of the two claſſes. This however is certain; that the honeſt, cautious, well meaning

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meaning man, who brings a moderate fortune into the alley, and ſtakes it at this game, in order to augment it, and make himſelf eaſy in his circumſtances, has the odds againſt him, in the proportion of nine to one, of being ſtripped of it, by one or other of theſe *Chevaliers d'Induſtrie*, Knights of the Alley.

THESE are the jobbers who enable our Dutch, and other foreign friends, "to make ſuch large intereſt for a temporary depoſit of their "money in our funds;" and theſe are they, ſome of whom ruin themſelves and their fellow-ſubjects; while others make their fortunes at the expence, and then laugh at the credulity, of their neighbours, having hearts of adamant, inſenſible to the calamities they have occaſioned; and ears deaf to the cries of pining want, and to the petitions of thoſe whom they have ruined "by their ingenious devices."

THANKS to the unerring, retributive ſpirit of the Governor of the Univerſe, no ſpecies of ſucceſsful villainy whatever, paſſes through life unbranded! Conſcience operates like a ſudorific medicine; it propels the black humours to the ſurface!---

VIEW theſe wretches at their ſuperb villas, in the environs of the metropolis: dead to all the refined enjoyments riches ſhould procure, (of which the nobleſt is the relief of indigent merit) you will find ſullenneſs, reſerve, ſuſpicion, and an air of contempt for all, who have not been ſo fortunate as themſelves, ſtrongly marked upon their features. A table bending beneath the weight of coſtly and exotic proviſions, a maſſy ſide-board, and an aggregate fund of wines, ſeems to be their chief delights. With a vacuum in their minds, which all the variegated beauties of nature and art cannot ſupply, they are loſt in the midſt of her moſt enchanting ſcenes. A flower plucked from the gay parterre, may gratify the animal ſenſe of ſmelling; the eye, long accuſtomed to pore over paper-money and figures, may find relief in glancing over the well-planned ſhrubbery, or the wide, extended lawns; but, having no invention, no harmony within themſelves, and incapable of reliſhing the fine imagery of the poet, the natural philoſopher, or the moraliſt, the external ſenſes are ſoon palled with ſatiety, and nothing but the intereſting buſtle of the old rendezvous can fill up the meaſure

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of their time. Thus we ſee them weekly hovering round the alley, like the feeble blaze of an expiring taper; yet, though exalted into their carriages, they watch with a timid, circumſpect eye, to avoid the regards of thoſe, who know the baſe means by which they have acquired them, or, who have been the victims of their fraud and cunning; for the open, chearful, ſteady countenances of honeſt men, ſpeak daggers to their ſouls.

It muſt not be denied, that men of high rank and capital fortunes are likewiſe concerned in ſtock-jobbing; but theſe having ſolid property to loſe, do not play ſuch a deſperate game as thoſe of the two claſſes I have juſt deſcribed: they ought, however, to be equally ſtigmatized, if they make uſe of illicit means, to get poſſeſſion of the property of others.

Enormous as the amount of what is called our national debt, may appear to Mr. Pinto, I can aſſure him, that more than that ſum is nominally bought and ſold in the alley, in the courſe of a year, by perſons who have neither accepted, nor transferred any funds at the transfer offices in the Bank; nor have either borrowed or lent money, on old, or new loans. What benefit can government poſſibly derive from this extenſive branch of jobbing? None, that I can conceive. But the miſchiefs are as innumerable as they are aggravating: for the funded property of thouſands, by this iniquitous practice, lies at the mercy of a ſet of men of deſperate fortunes, devoid of every principle of honour.

They form themſelves into ſecret aſſociations; and as the ſtate of their accounts ſtand, either raiſe or ſink the value of the perſonal eſtates of people of all ranks in the kingdom; and this is very often effected, without any event happening in the poſture of public affairs, to give a favourable or unfavourable turn to the price of the funds.

In times of war indeed, falſe news from the continents of Europe, or of America, are fertile reſources; but in times of peace, they can convince us that they do not want this aid. It is ſufficient that a junto of theſe jobbers act in concert. If they are BULLS, they agree to buy of one another, very capital ſums of annuities for time, at an advance above

deſtine manœuvre of a junto (in time of peace) who happen to be BEARS, cauſe a fall of three or four *per cent.* in the price of the conſolidated annuities. The gentleman now ſees himſelf under a neceſſity to ſell a larger portion of his capital, to ſupply the deficiency, and to ſuffer the abſolute loſs of three or four hundred pounds of his property, (more than one year's intereſt of his whole capital) if he accompliſhes his plan. It is probable, therefore, that he will delay it: this may be attended with domeſtic inconveniences of another kind, and the views of a family, perhaps their peace of mind, may be blaſted by the operations of the alley: but if he perſiſts, and ſells at this diſadvantage, he will certainly join with me in execrating all ſtock-jobbers; and in maintaining, that gaming in the funds weakens their credit, and depreciates their value at home and abroad. With reſpect to foreigners, I have had many opportunities of knowing that the frequent fluctuations of the price deters them from placing their money in them. In the Auſtrian Netherlands, many individuals have large capitals hoarded in cheſts, for want of knowing how to employ them ſecurely, on advantageous terms. The nature of the Engliſh funds was therefore a common topic of converſation, whenever they had an opportunity of conſulting me privately, during my reſidence at Oſtend; and I can, with great truth, aſſert, that the only objection which prevented my ſucceſs, at any time, with thoſe whom I wanted to engage in our funds, was, the hazard of great loſſes upon ſelling out, in caſe of a ſudden emergency.

IT will be expected that I ſhould reverſe the ſituation of things, and counterbalance the riſk of loſs, by the equal chance of gain; but this would not redreſs the grievance complained of: for the ſober adventurers in the funds, who only veſt their fortunes in them, to enjoy reaſonable intereſt, with the ſecurity of public, in preference to private credit, do not wiſh to throw them into the ſcale of chance; and as to all other adventurers, the large profit to be made occaſionally, is only a temptation to the luſt of gaming, attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences to the public in general. It allures the tradeſman to abandon the ordinary ſlow operations of inland trade, by the proſpect

of

of a fortune to be more rapidly acquired by jobbi
the merchant greater gains, with ſeemingly leſs
which ariſe from foreign commerce: tempeſts, pr
kets, failure of diſtant correſpondents, all magnif
he ſees leſs hazard, with a brighter proſpect, in a j

THUS, by profitable gaming in the alley, trade
injured; and by loſing accounts, private credit is
thouſands of ruined families can teſtify to their ſorro

No further proof can be required of the evils of f
I apprehend that, inſtead of ſupporting Mr. Pinto's
"it has been a principal means of extending the pub
"Britain," the majority of my readers will draw a co
arguments, againſt the funding ſyſtem itſelf. But t
conſequence, I muſt intreat them to attend to the
propoſe for leſſening the effects of ſtock-jobbing, till
aboliſhed.

I HAVE ſaid, that half the evil conſequences of jobb
by a full diſcovery of them: it was with this view
former treatiſe; and I ſhall now add ſome further ad
ſubject, which I hope will be equally ſerviceable to
tereſted in the public funds.

IT is too late to waſte our time in ſpeculative enqui
the good or bad policy of naturalizing the ſyſtem of pu
arrived to ſuch perfection in England. Eſtabliſhed
national utility having been ſo long experienced, it is
queſtionable duty and intereſt of every man of property
to ſupport it. He therefore, who undermines it, in the
by artifice or fraud of any kind, ſhould be conſidered
the welfare of his country.

LET thoſe jobbers then, who contrive to ſink the valu
property of the kingdom, by cunning devices, be conſi
ditti of thieves, who live upon the booty they acquire,
thoſe, whoſe private occaſions oblige them to carry thei
ket, of part of their property: and that you may be e

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a juſt opinion of the fluctuations in the funds, and to diſcover when theſe public robbers are at work, I will ſtate the principal cauſes which alone ought to operate any real diminution of the market price at any given time whatever. If no ſuch cauſes ſubſiſt, be on your guard, and let nothing but extreme neceſſity induce you to ſell; for you may be aſſured the BEARS are lying in wait, to devour your ſubſtance.

I SHALL divide the chief cauſes which naturally contribute to lower the price of the funds, into two claſſes: thoſe which happen in times of war; and thoſe which occur in times of peace.

WITH reſpect to the firſt, it has already been noticed, that in proportion as the demands of government increaſe, the intereſt of money will riſe; and individuals, from a proſpect of employing their money more advantageouſly in new loans, will ſell out of the old funds, eſpecially thoſe which bear the loweſt intereſt. This will happen as early as poſſible, becauſe the advantage will be the greater; therefore, ſpeculators will croud to the market as ſoon as they have intelligence of a rupture with any conſiderable foreign power, that they may ſell before the fall increaſes. The difficulty, therefore, will be, to diſtinguiſh between rumours of war, and the actual approach of this national calamity: and there can be no ſurer guide in this caſe, than an impartial ſcrutiny into the political ſituation of our country. The ſtate of its commerce, and of its revenues; the character of its prince, and his miniſters, compared with the ſame circumſtances in the nation with whom a war is expected, will, in a great meaſure, determine what degree of credit we ought to give to reports of an unavoidable rupture.

IN the late diſpute with Spain, I had the honour to be conſulted by ſeveral gentlemen of rank and fortune (ſome of them foreigners) who were not in the channel of court intelligence; and I ventured to aſſure them, that, conſidering the political circumſtances of the nation, the object of the negociation was not of conſequence ſufficient to involve us in a war; and though I readily allowed, that to take off the rudder of a king's ſhip, was almoſt as great an indignity as to ſtrike the monarch, or his ambaſſador, a blow on the face, yet I demonſtrated, to their ſatisfaction, that we were not in a condition to go to war for points of

honour,

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honour, or ſolely to gratify national reſentment. The ſame ſentiments I repeated publicly in my lectures; and I had the ſatisfaction to diſſuade ſeveral of my friends from ſelling out of the funds upon that occaſion.

If the events of war are unſucceſsful, and we loſe valuable ſettlements abroad, the funds will fall, from a concurrence of ſellers, many of them merchants, who depended on remittances from the conquered places, and for want of them are obliged to part with their funded property. The apprehenſion of more misfortunes will likewiſe engage others in the ſame meaſure.

Powerful alliances formed againſt the intereſt of the kingdom, having a tendency to endanger its political exiſtence as an independant ſtate, will affect the funds: for the public defence muſt require unuſual ſupplies; which increaſing the value of money, by the great demand for it, will lower the price of the old funds.

But an actual invaſion of a foreign enemy is the moſt to be dreaded. For the univerſal panic that ſuch an event would occaſion, no adequate remedy can be preſcribed; becauſe men will naturally make uſe of the liberty this free country gives them, and withdraw their perſons and property, with the utmoſt expedition, from the ſeat of war. The value of the funds, in this caſe, might ſink near fifty *per cent.* in a few days, owing to the vaſt concourſe of ſellers; and probably nothing would prevent a total ceſſation of the market for them, from the want of purchaſers, but the patience, fortitude and diſcernment, of a few opulent individuals, who would take this opportunity to buy, actuated chiefly by the hopes of great gain, and, in ſome meaſure, by juſt reflections on the uncertain iſſues of war; or the ſtorm might ſubſide, and public tranquility being reſtored, the funds would recover their full value: beſides, as members of the community, we muſt ſubmit to its fatalities.---If we have patience, ſome would ſay, and do not part with our property in the funds, the ſtate of affairs may alter, and we ſhall not be loſers: others might reflect that, at ſuch a criſis, if they had near and dear connections which prevented them from leaving t[he] kingdom, they would be ſubject to the ſame inconveniences w[ith] by them, if not more than if they remained proprietors of

for in the time of the great civil war, men were obliged to bury their money and plate, and they generally paſſed to other poſſeſſors: the families which concealed it, being torn from the place, by the hand of violence; or the perſon actually depoſiting it, taken off by death. The hiſtory of every country, where foreign conqueſt, or inteſtine commotions have produced temporary revolutions, furniſhes inſtances of treaſures concealed, loſt, and ſometimes not diſcovered for ages after theſe events.

NOR would the poſſeſſors of land be in a better ſituation than the proprietors of our funds, in caſe of a revolution from either foreign or domeſtic cauſes; it being well known, that landed eſtates are always beſtowed as rewards on the victorious chiefs.

I AM, therefore, clearly of opinion that, even in times of public diſtreſs, ſhould every thing ſeem to threaten a diſſolution of government, funded property is the laſt to be parted with.

I KNOW of no events, in the courſe of human affairs, beſides thoſe already mentioned, which ought to affect the value of the funds in times of war, ſo as to lower the current price conſiderably. But ſeveral circumſtances may contribute to advance it; ſuch as ſignal ſucceſſes, the return of great treaſures taken from the enemy, and the approach of peace. The two firſt, however, are only to be conſidered as adventitious events; a reverſe of fortune, or an extra demand for money, may, in a few months, reduce the enhanced value: but the laſt, is a ſufficient cauſe for a gradual riſe, in proportion as the value of money diminiſhes, from the great demand for it ceaſing.

LET me now ſtate the principal circumſtances which ought to have any conſiderable influence on the funds in times of peace; and give me leave to premiſe, that when the nation enjoys perfect tranquillity, when there is no ſudden large demand for money, nor any conſiderable ſums in ſpecie poured into the kingdom, no variation beyond two *per cent.* in the price of the funds ought to take place; if it does, independant of the following cauſes, be aſſured it is artificial, and a trick of the alley.

ORDERS from foreigners to veſt very conſiderable ſums in the funds, at any ſtated time.

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THE return of great wealth, derived from our Asi territorial juriſdiction; or of immenſe fortunes acqui in the adminiſtration of the Company's affairs in Ind

A STEADY, judicious, uncorrupt and œconomica the revenues of the kingdom; a general good unde every branch of government and the people; with duration of peace, and of ſuch a miniſtry, ſo that th muſt fall daily: theſe are the chief events which ma riſe above five *per cent.* from the concourſe of purc find no other channels open for employing their advantage.

THE funds are equally liable to ſink conſideral market price, if any of the following unhappy occurr peace and ſecurity of the kingdom.

THE dangerous illneſs, or ſudden death, of the reig

A DISUNION of any of the branches of the thre kingdom.

THE advancement, to the higheſt offices in the ſt weak minds, corrupt hearts, and debauched manners.

A GENERAL miſtruſt and want of mutual confiden miniſtration and the public at large; cauſing mutual reproaches, and engendering parties and diviſions, which popular inſurrections, and civil wars.

A STAGNATION, or conſiderable failure of private quakes, inundations, or fires deſtroying any part of c ſettlements, by which our merchants at home may be want of remittances, as to be obliged to part with their funds, to ſupply the deficiencies.

LASTLY, a dearth of proviſions, or the plague; b would cauſe conſiderable migrations of independant peop

IF any other contingent public calamities ſhould here the minds of any future proprietors of the funds, let th own diſcretion in applying them: at preſent all is quiet time of profound peace, when no internal malady prevail

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politic, but what will admit of an eaſy remedy; and therefore I ſhall only lay down one general rule for the conduct of thoſe who are, and of thoſe who may be diſpoſed to become, proprietors in the funds.

WATCH attentively the real value of money; I mean, what intereſt it will bear on the beſt landed ſecurity in the kingdom: and if you find the funds are rather under the par of the general rate of intereſt *, let thoſe who have property veſted in them, avoid ſelling out, and thoſe who wiſh to purchaſe, loſe no time.

MONEY is at preſent (Auguſt 1772) worth four *per cent*: the late blow given to private credit, may indeed have given ſome individuals an opportunity of employing large ſums on better terms; but two millions thrown into the market, would reduce it below four: and I am convinced, that if the peace laſts ten years longer (which I cannot doubt, having private reaſons which amount almoſt to a certainty) it will be under three; and on this view of the face of affairs, I apprehend the funds are now under their real value; and that they muſt riſe to an equation with the rate of intereſt very ſoon, if no ſiniſter artifice prevents it; after which, admitting the duration of the peace, they ought not to vary above two *per cent*.

IN a word, I cannot too ſtrongly caution my fellow-citizens againſt idle rumours of wars; nor too earneſtly enforce this obſervation; "That the jobbing brokers, and their principals, the whole body of "jobbers, muſt live; and their ſubſiſtence depends on your falſe hopes "and fears: they muſt form intereſted ſchemes to deceive you, or "ſtarve; for the frequent variations in the prices of the funds, are "their proper aliment."

IT will perhaps be allowed, that I have given proper advice to individuals; but it will be ſaid, that the evil of ſtock-jobbing remains an inſuperable objection to the funding ſyſtem, ſo far as it regards the body politic. I readily acknowledge this melancholy truth; declaring, however, that it is in the power of government to apply an adequate

* NEEDY people will always offer premiums in proportion to their diſtreſs; therefore, mortgages may be had at five *per cent.* when money is worth only four. But we are to reaſon upon a ſuppoſition of an equal number of lenders and borrowers.

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remedy, either by deſtroying the practice totally, or l
ſuch regulations that it cannot be productive of moſt
quences juſtly aſcribed to it. Many expedients have l
this purpoſe; and it depends on the wiſdom of the le
the beſt. In a point of ſuch delicacy, it is impoſſible tc
but a time of profound peace, is an opportunity that
loſt, of trying every rational experiment to ſupport the
credit, and the mode of levying money for the publ
funding ſyſtem, independant of the diſhoneſt practices
bill for this purpoſe was in agitation during the la
liament; and ſome of the heads ſeemed calculated to
propoſed, while others appeared to be contradictory
in ſhort, it had the common defect of all bills framed
ſufficient room was left for evaſion, miſconſtruction a
was therefore glad to find it poſtponed.

It is, however, ſome conſolation to find, that we
who dares to face this ſubject; if he is in earneſt, and
prejudiced as to imagine, that all knowledge of re
concentered within the narrow circle of a few perſons
in parliament, and in the cabinet, he will invite every
in the kingdom to aſſiſt him; by which means the
between laying ſuch a reſtraint on the time-tranſactior
as would prejudice public credit, and the permiſſion
ſhameful practice of unlimited jobbing, may be diſcover
this can be attempted, it will be neceſſary to explode a
for paying off the imaginary national debt; for ſo long
and the public, entertain the idea of a debt of one
twenty-ſix millions to be paid off, in whole or in part,
in the alley will be the real, and the lords of the tre
oſtenſible, managers of the finances of this kingdom.

This ſubject, therefore, demands our attention, and f
the order of this treatiſe.

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ON THE

INEXPEDIENCY AND INEFFICACY

OF

All Projects for paying off the reputed National Debt.

WE have already obſerved, that from the time of the introduction of the funding ſyſtem, to this hour, all orders of men have united in a general outcry againſt the uſual ways and means of raiſing the ſupplies for the ſervice of the nation. We muſt now take notice of the effects which a general oppoſition to this ſyſtem has produced.

As often as the government has required new loans, the major part of the complainants have very eagerly engaged in them: while, on the other hand, a few ingenious men, remarking that a ſpirit of diſcontent prevailed, deviſed and propoſed ſundry expedients for furniſhing the capital ſums wanted in times of war, by ſchemes that ſhould prove leſs burthenſome to the public, and more advantageous to government. Several plans have likewiſe been publiſhed, for redeeming part, or the whole, of the immenſe capital of one hundred and twenty-ſix millions, the reputed national debt.

BUT all theſe projects, however well intended, have been unſucceſsful; and the reaſon commonly aſſigned, by the managers of our revenue affairs, has been, that they were either defective, or impracticable; conſequently, in both caſes, ineffectual. Diſſatisfied with this deciſion, the authors have generally appealed to the public; and I am afraid, the warmth of reſentment has ſometimes excited them to exaggerate the inconveniences of the funding ſyſtem, in order to raiſe the public odium againſt the miniſter, who thought proper to reject their favourite plans.

A REVIEW of the progreſs of the conteſts reſpecting the adopted mode of raiſing the ſupplies, and an impartial ſcrutiny of the various

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free market, where the value, in money, of every capital ſhare in the funds, is readily and almoſt daily to be obtained *.

THIS clear light thrown on a ſubject, which had been obſcured and rendered extremely intricate by ſpeculative projects, together with a full conviction that public credit is eſtabliſhed on a ſolid, permanent baſis, in this kingdom, have led me to ſtill bolder propoſitions; for the fate of which I own myſelf not a little uneaſy. All that I can plead in my defence, in caſe they are found to be erroneous, is, that zeal in the ſervice of my country may have carried me too far, and have induced me, though with a benevolent intention, to advance tenets whoſe truth and importance affected my mind ſo forcibly, that I could not reſiſt the impulſe of communicating them, even at the riſk of adding to the number of neglected projectors.

I VENTURE then to aſſert, that it is a vulgar error to ſtile the capitals compoſing the funds, called annuities †, THE NATIONAL DEBT. They are only yearly rents, which muſt be regularly paid, unleſs the capitals are reimburſed: theſe yearly rents, therefore, are the national debt; and we have, properly ſpeaking, no other.

THE end propoſed by all ſchemes for paying off the capitals which entitle the public creditors to annuities, is, to exonerate the ſubjects of the ſtate of the taxes impoſed on them to pay theſe annuities.

IF they will not accompliſh this, to any conſiderable degree, in ſo long a ſpace of time as twenty, thirty, or fifty years, they are certainly inexpedient, and do not merit the attention of government.

INDEPENDANT of the conſideration of eaſing the people of the burthen of thoſe taxes which are ſaid to affect the neceſſaries of life,

* IT may be objected, that the funds which compoſe the greateſt part of the reputed national debt, are conſiderably under par; and therefore the capitals will not be reimburſed by ſelling out. But I deſire it may be conſidered, that the firſt ſubſcribers had douceurs, on which they made a profit, that produced more than an equivalent to them for every hundred pounds advanced to government; and all repurchaſers of the annuities have bought them (independant of theſe douceurs) ſo much under par, that the chance is as three to two in their favour, that they will rather gain than loſe, by ſelling at the public market.

† THE word annuity means a yearly rent to be paid for a term of life, or years; or a yearly allowance. *See Johnſon's Dictionary.*

and

and to prejudice trade in general, the government pay off any part of the capitals for which they have

IT is a moſt impolitic, injudicious miſapplicatio of the permanent revenues of the kingdom, to emp off capitals, unleſs the taxes which were impoſed the payment of the annual intereſts of ſuch capitals ſame time.

As we have ſeen that the taxes are made perp impoſed for the payment of thoſe annuities goveri proper to extinguiſh ſince the peace, by paying muſt inſiſt on it, that ſuch finance operations pro principles, are highly detrimental to the public, advantageous either to the government, or its creditc

PUBLIC CREDIT receives no additional ſtrength ations of the ſurpluſſes of the revenue. It is now c even in foreign countries, particularly in France, capital of one hundred and twenty-ſix millions, vi NATIONAL DEBT, is not demandable. Mr. Pinto Paris they looked upon the Engliſh nation to be on ruptcy, notwithſtanding all our ſucceſſes in the war; t this event every day; and that they conſidered us as all our reſources; till he convinced them, that the national debt was illuſitory; by demonſtrating, that tl demandable, conſequently, that our government can raſſed on this ſubject, as foreigners had erroneouſly in

ON this principle, I affirm, that the ſurpluſſes of the may be employed to much better account than they a have been, in any given time of peace, ſince the ſuppc exiſted.---I likewiſe conſider an inviolable punctuality of the yearly rents on the capitals compoſing the pub rock of public credit.

WHILE this continues, I am well aſſured, public c eſtabliſhed, that it anſwers all the purpoſes of refund

* Traité de la Circulation, p. 41.

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except that of abolishing those taxes which are generally reputed to be the most oppressive.

These are the general positions which engage me to recommend to the managers of our revenue transactions, a finance principle of the ancients:

To amass treasures in times of peace, as a provision for the exigencies of war:---and I hope to make it appear, that, considering the impracticability of extinguishing our present taxes, such an application of the annual surpluses of the public revenues, as will, at all events, prevent any additional taxes being levied (though we should borrow one hundred millions more, on the usual plan) is the best that can be adopted.

But before I proceed to a final explanation of this my new project, it will be necessary for me to illustrate, and to prove the truth (to the best of my knowledge) of the former propositions.

I will take them in the order they stand; and endeavour to be as concise as the nature of such delicate subjects will admit.

If any thing more is wanting to support the first, I imagine the following familiar examples will supply the defect.

A lends to B, the sum of 1000£, at three *per cent*, interest, on a common bond: the well known condition of which is, that if B, or his assigns, shall pay or cause to be paid to A, or his assigns, the said principal sum of 1000£, with the interest due thereon, within the limited time stipulated, then the obligation is to be void, or otherwise to remain in full force.

But C advances (for I will not call it lending, when a man has no power to demand restitution) to D, the sum of 1000£, on a special contract; the condition of which is, that D, or his assigns, shall pay or cause to be paid to C, or his assigns, the sum of thirty pounds *per annum* (being an annuity of three *per cent.*) by regular, equal, half yearly payments, for ever; unless the said D, or his assigns, shall *think proper* to refund the principal sum of 1000£, to C, or his assigns, when the obligation will be void; otherwise it will remain in full force.

Is

Is it not evident, in this caſe, that the only debt which can be claimed or demanded of D or his aſſigns, or which ſolely conſtitutes the obligation, is the yearly rent, or annuity, of thirty pounds? The optionary alternative of redeeming the annuity, by reſtoring the capital, does not convey the leaſt idea of a debt or legal obligation. Refunding the principal is, in fact, the ſame as a new purchaſe; for it would be a matter of equal indifference to D, or his aſſigns, whether they paid back 1000*£*. to C, or his aſſigns, or gave it to an utter ſtranger, on condition that he ſhould exonerate them of the annuity, and continue to pay it to C, or his aſſigns.

In the very ſame light, I conſider government and its creditors: it is apparent likewiſe, that if D is known to be worth only three hundred pounds, at any one time during the exiſtence of this contract, C has no right to complain, or to publiſh declarations of his approaching bankruptcy, if he continues to pay the yearly rent punctually, by half yearly payments; nor has he any other legal demand upon him whatever. The produce of his ingenuity, or of his induſtry, may enable him to pay the annuity; and as to the principal, it matters not whether he is in a condition to refund the whole, or only three hundred pounds. This ſhould be no object with C, eſpecially if he has a collateral ſecurity, to provide againſt any deficiency in the payments of the annuity. This collateral ſecurity is given to the public creditors of the ſtate, in the ſinking fund; the unappropriated produce of which is made reſponſible for any deficiencies in thoſe taxes (derived from the ingenuity or induſtry of the people) which are appropriated for the payment of the annuities on the capital of one hundred and twenty-ſix millions, falſely called the NATIONAL DEBT.

Thus I prove that we have, in reality, no other NATIONAL DEBTS but the yearly rents, payable on thoſe LOANS, which are very properly ſtiled, in the acts of parliament conſtituting them; at the Bank; in our public accounts; and upon all occaſions when we mention them, ANNUITIES. Had there been a poſitive obligation to refund the capitals, they muſt have taken another title: we muſt have called them, from their creation, ſo many millions of outſtanding debts, at three or four *per cent.* intereſt; and not conſolidated annuities.

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On this ground I alſo refute all that has been written by Mr. Hume and others, including the laſt great calculator DR. PRICE, on the ſubject of a national bankruptcy; as I think it has been clearly demonſtrated, that the ſtate can never approach to this melancholy ſituation, on account of the capitals of its funds: and as to the annuities or yearly rents, if we were under an indiſpenſable neceſſity to find new reſources, to the amount of ten additional millions yearly---let me boldly proclaim, to the united governments of FRANCE and SPAIN (the only formidable powers whoſe ſecret machinations we have to dread) that, were we put to this hard teſt, we can raiſe them, without deſtroying public credit. But I would not be miſunderſtood, or excite the popular cry againſt me: I muſt therefore declare, that nothing but the preſervation of the body politic, as an independant ſtate amongſt the nations of the earth, ſhould juſtify us in exerting our utmoſt ſtrength.

My ſecond, third and fourth propoſitions, are ſo intimately connected with and dependant on each other, that they cannot well be ſeparated; I ſhall therefore take the liberty to illuſtrate them collectively.

The ſhorteſt hiſtory I could poſſibly give of the propoſals that have been made for paying off, or putting in a courſe of payment, the funds, erroneouſly ſtiled the NATIONAL DEBT, would require a ſeparate volume; becauſe the explanation of them depends on arithmetical calculations, and numerical tables. I ſhall therefore only ſelect four, which have appeared at different periods; all the reſt being of inferior merit, though proceeding on the ſame principles, and having the ſame ends in view. If theſe are found to be inadequate to their deſign, I apprehend, the truth of the propoſitions we have now under conſideration, will be confirmed beyond a doubt; and then I ſhall be at liberty to introduce the important conſequences I mean to deduce from them.

The FIRST, and the only ſcheme for refunding the capitals of the national loans, carried into practice, was the eſtabliſhment of the SINKING FUND, A. D. 1716. Of the nature of this fund, and of the alienations which diverted it from the original deſign of its inſtitution, I have given a curſory account in my former treatiſe *; and my reaſon,

* Every Man his own Broker.

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for not enlarging upon it, I have therein declared to be, "That it did "not appear to me to be a ſubject of much importance to the public, "in general, whoſe principal concern is, that the payment of the intereſt "of the money borrowed of them is regular, and at the ſame time well "ſecured; and of this, I ſaid, no Engliſhman could have any doubt." The additional knowledge I have ſince acquired, from the works of others, and my own obſervations on the ſtability of public credit, induces me to believe, that all ſenſible foreigners are of the ſame opinion. But as the SINKING FUND is made the baſis of the laſt propoſal that has been offered to the public, and a different application of its ſurpluſſes is the eſſence of my own, it ſeems neceſſary to give a more conciſe illuſtration of the nature and powers of this fund; and as I cannot do this in a better manner than it is already ſtated by DR. PRICE, I hope I ſhall ſtand juſtified to that worthy gentleman, and to all my readers, for the quotation I am now to introduce from his "Appeal to the Public, "on the Subject of the National Debt;" eſpecially when they are appriſed, that the fourth ſcheme for paying off this ſuppoſed debt, belongs to the ſame ingenious author; the diſcuſſion of which would have obliged me to inſert it hereafter: beſides, the account the Doctor gives, ſhews the inefficacy of the SINKING FUND, as it has been managed, to anſwer the deſign of its inſtitution; and, with reſpect to the firſt ſcheme, corroborates my propoſitions.

"BEFORE the eſtabliſhment of this fund, there had exiſted many "ſmaller funds, of the ſame nature: that is, ſuch duties or taxes had "been provided, for paying the intereſts of particular loans, as afforded "ſurpluſſes by which the principal itſelf was to be gradually redeemed. "This ſeems to have been the common practice in the reigns of KING "WILLIAM and QUEEN ANN. Moſt of the public duties were given "for terms of years; and at the end of thoſe terms they ceaſed of "courſe, unleſs continued for farther terms, by new acts of parliament: "and, in general, it was provided, when any money was raiſed, that "the principal ſhould be cancelled, either by time, as in the caſe of "the ſale of long and ſhort annuities, or by the ſurpluſſes of the duties "charged with the payment of the intereſt. This was certainly an

"excellent plan: but it was by no means carried ſteadily into exe-
"cution.---In the year 1720, moſt of the long and ſhort annuities were
"converted into redeemable perpetuities, at the expence of above three
"millions; and the ſurpluſſes of the duties, charged with particular
"loans, were often ſo broke into, by being either charged with new
"loans before they had cancelled the old, or ſpent on current ſervices,
"as to be rendered incapable of anſwering the end intended by them.---
"In conſequence partly of this bad management, our debts, at the
"acceſſion of the preſent royal family, were ſo much increaſed, as to
"be generally reckoned inſupportable; and their reduction was made
"one of the firſt objects of parliamentary attention. This gave riſe,
"in the year 1716, to the inſtitution of the fund of which I am giving
"an account; the father of which, as is well known, was SIR ROBERT
"WALPOLE.---All the taxes charged with the national debt were
"now made perpetual, and digeſted into three funds, called the
"Aggregate, the South-ſea, and the General Funds.---At the ſame
"time a conſiderable ſaving was obtained, by the reduction of intereſt
"from ſix to five *per cent*; and this ſaving, together with former
"ſavings, and all that ſhould afterwards ariſe, were to be collected
"into a fourth fund, diſtinguiſhed under the name of the SINKING
"FUND; the account of which was to be kept ſeparate, and the whole
"produce of which was to be appropriated inviolably to the payment
"of the national debt.

"IN conformity to this, the words of the law were made as ſtrong
"as they could well be*: for, concerning all the ſurpluſſes to ariſe
"from time to time in the three funds I have mentioned, it declares,
"that they *ſhall be appropriated, reſerved and employed, to and for the*
"*diſcharge of the principal and intereſt of ſuch national debts and incum-*
"*brances as were incurred before the 25th of December*, 1716; *and to*
"*and for no other uſe, intent or purpoſe whatever*.---It was, therefore,
"impoſſible that any alienation of theſe ſurpluſſes ſhould take place,
"without a direct breach of this law."

* "THIS law was afterwards repealed, in an act of the 5th of George I. chap. 3."

THE Doctor then gives us a detail of the adminiſtration of this fund, in ſtrict conformity to the letter of the act of parliament; and ſays, that no apprehenſion was entertained of any miſapplication of it, till the year 1726; the improvement and inviolable application of it to the reduction of the national debt, having been recommended in moſt of the ſpeeches from the throne, and echoed back from the commons: beſides, ſays he, public credit had increaſed ſo much by its operations, that the intereſt of the loans then ſubſiſting had been reduced, firſt from ſix to five, and afterwards from five to four *per cent*; and ſo ſtrongly did the miniſtry and their friends ſeem to ſupport the application which had been all along made of the ſinking fund, that, in the ſaid year, Sir Nathaniel Gould, a bank director, a member of parliament, and a miniſterial writer, treats the ſuſpicions then entertained of a deſign to alienate it, as indecent jealouſies; and declares that, in his opinion, it was impoſſible it ſhould ever be done. "But, between the years 1727 "and 1732, ſeveral new loans were made; and ſurpluſſes, that of right "belonged to the ſinking fund, were charged with them. This reduced "its income conſiderably below what it ſhould have been: but, being "an encroachment of a leſs open nature, it did not, as far as I can find, "produce any particular oppoſition.---From this period, however, we "muſt date the ruin of the ſinking fund.---The finiſhing blow was "given it on the following occaſion.

"IN the year 1732, the land-tax had been reduced to one ſhilling in "the pound; and, in order to ſupply the deficiency ariſing from hence, "half a million had been procured for the current ſervice, by the "revival of the ſalt-duties; which, but two years before, had been "repealed, becauſe reckoned too burthenſome on the poor.---In the "year 1733, in order to keep the land-tax as low as it had been the "year before, it was neceſſary either to borrow another half million, "or to take it from the ſinking fund: the laſt method was choſen, and "propoſed, by SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, to the Houſe of Commons.--- "Long and warm debates enſued.---A propoſal to alienate, in a time "of profound peace, a fund which the law had made ſacred, and the "alienation of which no poſſible exigence of public affairs could

"juſtify,

" juſtify, only for the ſake of keeping the land-tax for one year at one " ſhilling in the pound, juſtly kindled the indignation of the patriotic " party. They urged the prohibition of the law, the faith of par- " liament, and the ſecurity of the kingdom. The propoſer of the " alienation was reminded of his inconſiſtency and treachery, in en- " deavouring to beat down that very monument of glory which he " had boaſted of having erected for himſelf; and SIR JOHN BARNARD " warned him, that he was drawing upon himſelf the curſes of " poſterity.---But all arguments were vain.---The miniſtry pleaded " that the landed intereſt wanted eaſe; that there was no occaſion for " being in a hurry to pay the national debt; and that the circumſtances " of the kingdom had altered ſo much, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the " ſinking fund, that the competition then among the public creditors " was, not who ſhould be *firſt*, but who ſhould be *laſt* paid. Thus " argued, among others, SIR ROBERT WALPOLE. His reaſons pre- " vailed; and the Houſe of Commons, not uſed to refuſe him any " thing, conſented.

" THE practice of alienating the ſinking fund having been thus " begun, it went on of courſe. In the next year, or 1734, 1,200,000*£*. " was taken from it. In 1735, it was even anticipated and mortgaged.

" THUS then expired, after an exiſtence of about eleven years, the " SINKING FUND---that ſacred bleſſing---once the nation's only hope " ---prematurely and cruelly deſtroyed by its own parent.-----Could it " have eſcaped the hands of violence, it would have made us the envy " and the terror of the world, by leaving us, at this time, not only " TAX-FREE, but in poſſeſſion of a treaſure, greater perhaps than was " ever enjoyed by any kingdom."

THE concluſions Dr. Price draws with reſpect to the effects of adhering to the original intention of parliament, and the conſequences of the alienation plan, in my humble opinion, are very erroneous; but the refutation of them muſt be attempted in its proper place.

IT is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe, to obſerve, that the ſinking fund has never anſwered the purpoſe of paying off the capitals, or of exonerating us of the taxes appropriated for the payment of the yearly rents

rents due on them. It is therefore inadequate to the ends propoſed by its inſtitution. Let us now proceed to the ſecond project, which was publiſhed in 1750, and annexed to a very intereſting and uſeful pamphlet, intitled, "An Eſſay on the NATIONAL DEBT and NATIONAL CAPITAL*."

THE capitals of the funds called the NATIONAL DEBT, at this period, amounted to eighty millions; and the following method was propoſed by our author, for paying off the ſaid principal ſum.

"LET the eighty millions debt be divided into eighty equal parts "of a million each, to be paid off ſeverally, by an equal number of "ſeparate and independent claſſes of ſubſcribers, whoſe reſpective con- "ſtituents ſhall, in conſideration of ſuch ſubſcriptions, be, jointly and "ſeverally, intereſted in an equivalent annuity to be granted to each "claſs, for the term aforeſaid, with benefit of ſurvivorſhip.

"AN inſtance of one claſs will ſerve for all.

"LET it be enacted, then, that the intereſt of one million, at three "one half *per cent*, be converted into a capital annuity of thirty-five "thouſand pounds, and granted, for ninety-nine years abſolute, to "any body or claſs of ſubſcribers, who, in conſideration thereof, will "advance the ſum of one million towards diſcharging ſo much of the "national debt.

"THAT the one million, ſo to be ſubſcribed, be divided into four "thouſand parts or ſhares, of two hundred and fifty pounds; and the "capital annuity of thirty-five thouſand pounds, into four thouſand "leſſer annuities, of eight pounds, fifteen ſhillings each, anſwerable "to the ſaid number of ſhares, and veſted in the individuals of each "claſs, in proportion to the number of ſhares ſubſcribed by them "ſeverally and reſpectively.

"THAT every perſon ſubſcribing two hundred and fifty pounds, or "one ſhare, be entitled to one of the ſaid leſſer annuities, during the "life of any perſon he ſhall nominate, ſubject to the limitation in the "ſaid grant; and ſo in proportion to any greater number of ſhares: "provided always, that the number of his nominees be ever equal to "the number of his ſhares.

* By Andrew Hooke, Eſq. of Briſtol. London, printed for W. Owen, 1750.

"THAT

"THAT, in conſideration of his ſinking the principal money, every "ſubſcriber be further entitled to ſuch annual augmentation of his "annuity, or annuities, as ſhall from time to time, accrue by caſualties "of mortality among the nominees of ſuch claſs; ſo that, before the "expiration of the original term, the whole capital annuity of thirty-"five thouſand pounds may veſt in ſuch ſubſcriber, or ſubſcribers, or "his or their repreſentatives, as the caſe ſhall happen, whoſe nominee, "or nominees, ſhall be the laſt ſurvivor, or ſurvivors, of the ſaid claſs.

"THAT the government creditors have the preference to all other "ſubſcribers, for ſo much principal money as ſhall, at the time of ſuch "ſubſcription, be actually and *bona fide* due to them from the crown; "and that, notwithſtanding the claſſes, as ſuch, are by this plan to "be independent of each other, yet that individuals may become ſub-"ſcribers in as many claſſes as they pleaſe, and their nominees in one "claſs be nominees in every other claſs, if they ſhall think fit. And "laſtly,

"THAT the government, on payment of the capital annuities of "thirty-five thouſand pounds to the ſeveral claſſes, be abſolutely diſ-"charged from all future claims of individuals, touching their re-"ſpective ſhares, proportions and intereſts therein; and that all matters "relating thereto be tranſacted among themſelves, and determined by "a court of directors, to be elected and appointed in ſuch manner as "ſhall be thought fit, who, by law, ſhall be fully authorized and "empowered to make the reſpective dividends, and, from time to time, "adjuſt all claims thereto: ſubject, nevertheleſs, to an appeal to the "LORDS OF THE TREASURY, who, in a ſummary way, ſhall finally "hear and determine the ſame."

THE only objection of weight, to my ſcheme, ſays Mr. Hooke, is, that in this way of paying off the national debt, a heavy load of grievous taxes on the neceſſaries of life, ſuch as ſoap, candles, leather, ſalt, *&c.* muſt inevitably be fixed on the ſubjects for a long term of years to come, irredeemable by parliament. This confeſſion, on his part, clearly demonſtrates, that his project, the ſecond in the order of time, and in point of merit, could not anſwer the chief object of paying

paying off the capitals of the funds. The moſt onerous taxes (the firſt to be taken off) were to remain permanently ſettled on ſucceſſive generations, for ninety-nine years.

But another material objection, which indeed is common to all the ſchemes I have hitherto peruſed, is, the great length of time; the number of years before any conſiderable advantage can ariſe to government, or to the public, by adopting them. In ſome, the operations are ſo very ſlow, that it could hardly be imagined men would encourage them, becauſe they could not have the ſatisfaction of living to ſee the good effects of them; and it was too much to expect, that they would alter the ſtate of their funded property on ſpeculative plans, the future conſequences of which they could not experimentally determine.

The truth of the matter is, that as early as the year 1719, hints were thrown out in print, that if the capital ſums, then called the national debt, were thrown into a general courſe of circulation, it would be the ſame thing as paying them off; provided that, in both caſes, the burthenſome taxes muſt neceſſarily ſubſiſt for any great number of years: and on this very principle, STEPHEN BARBIER preſented his expedient for paying off the public debts to GEORGE THE FIRST, on the ſixth of May in that year.

It was, to eſtabliſh a market for the forty millions, the amount of the capitals at that time, by iſſuing notes or bonds for the payment of principal and intereſt, ſix months after date: the facility of negociating theſe notes, upon any extraordinary emergency, he apprehended, would make people willing to hold them, as long as poſſible; or, if they parted with them, he conceived, others would be very ready to purchaſe, therefore very few would be brought into the Treaſury to be paid off at the expiration of the ſix months: and on this ſuppoſition he left it in the option of government to pay them off, or to mark the continuance of them for another ſix months; and ſo on till their final redemption.

The extenſive circulation ſince accompliſhed by the tranſfers at the Bank, by negociating Exchequer bills, and bills for government

contracts, ſuch as Navy-bills, *&c.* are only improvements upon this outline.

BUT the important national advantage he propoſed to derive from carrying his expedient into execution, being what Great Britain has long enjoyed, by the open market for her funds, it is proper to mention in his own words: "The forty millions debt is now (ſuppoſing his "expedient had been adopted) become a national bank of forty mil- "lions; and what was an oppreſſion, is turned into a treaſure: for it "is a ſort of addition to the national ſtock, which muſt of courſe "advance the public credit in proportion, promote the land's intereſt, "encourage trade at home, and add life and ſtrength to commerce "abroad. You have then here, in effect, a mine of an immenſe and "endleſs treaſure; even ſuch a one, that all the Peruvian mountains "are not able to afford the like; for it is always ready and at hand. "Let the king and parliament ſpeak the word, and you have, upon "the ſpot, any ſum you want *."

SUCH clear reaſoning could not eſcape the notice of that able miniſter, SIR ROBERT WALPOLE; though the author's expedient was, in many reſpects, defective and impracticable. I am therefore not ſurpriſed to find that, in 1733, he ſhould declare, in the Houſe of Commons, "The circumſtances of the kingdom to be ſo altered ſince "the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, that the competition then "among the creditors was, not who ſhould be *firſt*, but who ſhould "be *laſt* paid." The principles of circulation were better known, and began to operate more freely; and people of property grew tired of all projects for paying off capitals, which they found they could not employ to better advantage, with equal certainty and ſecurity.

IT is no wonder, therefore, that Mr. Hooke's very plauſible and judicious ſcheme, ſhould likewiſe be neglected in 1750; eſpecially as he himſelf had removed the remaining doubts and fears concerning the ſolidity of public credit, in the very eſſay to which it is annexed: an eſſay of ſo much conſequence to the creditors of the nation, and to

* An Expedient to pay the Public Debts, by Stephen Barbier. London, printed for J. Roberts, 1719.

government,

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government, that I wiſh to ſee it reprinted annually, with the requiſite additions to the tables.

AFTER he had diſpelled all the gloomy apprehenſions of an approaching national bankruptcy, and fairly demonſtrated, by accurate calculations, that the then NATIONAL DEBT of eighty millions was only as one to twelve, to the national capital (conſiſting of lands, money, wrought plate, jewels, bullion, live and dead ſtock)---as four to five to the annual income of the nation---and to the annual increment of the national capital, only as ſeven to one: he could not be ſurpriſed, if the public was not ſolicitous about his ſcheme. His own calculations, and his deductions from them, demonſtrated the inexpediency of the ſlow operations of an extinction (by ſurvivorſhips) at the end of ninety-nine years, of any part of a national debt; the paying off which he owns, in one part of his eſſay, is not a matter of that importance to the community, as is generally imagined; becauſe it might ſubſiſt many years longer, without danger to the conſtitution; and even be increaſed to double the ſum.---One hundred and ſixty millions!---(thirty-four millions more than the preſent reputed debt) ---Beſides, his ſcheme did not offer any advantages to individuals, equal to the riſing value of money in time of war; and by quieting mens minds, on the idle ſubject of a national bankruptcy, he threw out a new lure, to engage them to advance more money to government, on the tried and approved ſyſtem of redeemable annuities, attended with douceurs, which make them more profitable than his ſcheme.

THE cauſes already aſſigned, have fruſtrated all ſimilar projects, from the year 1750, to the preſent time. But they have not prevented repeated publications on the ſame topic.

WE meet with nothing, however, deſerving our ſerious attention, within the laſt twenty years, except the late admired performances of MR. PINTO, and of DR. PRICE; both men of learning, highly eſteemed in the literary world; and the latter celebrated for his ſkill in algebraical demonſtrations. The propoſals ſubmitted to the conſideration of our government, by theſe gentlemen, are the moſt rational, and have the appearance of being the moſt practicable of any that have been hitherto

publiſhed. But ſtill they are inexpedient, conſidering the preſent ſtate of our finances, and cannot effectuate any valuable improvement of the public revenues for a great number of years: therefore, they will have the ſame fate as all former ſchemes, founded on the erroneous principle of paying off the capitals of the reputed national debt: and I hope it will not be conſidered by them, or their friends, as any diminution of that veneration in which I hold them, that I proceed to point out the inefficacy of their reſpective plans.

MR. PINTO, after having improved on the ideas of STEPHEN BARBER, MR. HOOKE, SIR JAMES STEUART, and others, by giving us the cleareſt demonſtrations of the advantages which the nation has derived from the national debt, and of the ſolidity and permanency of the public credit of Great Britain, (in his celebrated Treatiſe on Circulation) unfortunately deſtroys the force of his own arguments; for he falls into the common error of ſuppoſing it neceſſary to diminiſh the capitals of the funds, by paying them off in times of peace; he would have them reduced to eighty millions; and he gives it as his opinion, that this will be a ſufficient reduction: to which he adds, that it would be impolitic and dangerous, not to leave at leaſt ſixty millions unliberated. The means he propoſes for accompliſhing this reduction are---an augmentation of the ſinking fund; and the converſion of different portions of the capitals of our funds, at ſundry periods, into life-annuities, at ſeven and an half *per cent*; and the following ſpecimen is given of this operation, by which twelve millions and an half may be paid off, by applying only four hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds of the produce of the ſinking fund yearly, for a certain number of years: part of which would be retrieved or recovered by the ſaid fund, every year, by the death of annuitants.

AT the time of ſtating his propoſal, three millions and an half of four *per cent* annuities, 1761, ſubſiſted; they have ſince been paid off: but the operation will be exactly the ſame, if we take three millions and an half of the conſolidated four *per cents*, which, though irredeemable till 1781, might be converted, by option of the proprietors, into life annuities, if Mr. Pinto's ſcheme was carried into execution.

"LET

"LET a subscription be opened to create life annuities, at seven and "an half *per cent*, and let money, or four, or three *per cent*. annuities "be received indiscriminately. The confidence that is placed in govern- "ment, and the good faith of parliament---the immense luxury of the "times, which enclines most people to increase their incomes---the "desire that most parents have to assure a little life annuity to their "children, as a small provision against accidents---all these causes would "combine to convert twelve millions and an half into life annuities "immediately, if I mistake not, and would greatly efface the phantom "of the national debt. The interests of these twelve millions and an "half being extinguished, and the taxes appropriated for the payment "of them preserved, the sinking fund would be increased four hundred "and ten thousand pounds *per annum*; and with four hundred and "twenty-five thousand pounds addition from the unappropriated pro- "duce of the said fund, without imposing any new tax, the life annuities "would be paid*, and the sinking fund would still remain strong enough "to continue other extinctions yearly; acquiring, every year, new "powers, by the accretion of the interests of the ordinary extinctions, "and of the life annuities which would fall in by the death of annuitants.

"THESE surpluses of interest being issued out to the public, at the "end of the year would return into the old funds, in which the life "annuitants would place their money:---the mass of the old funds "diminishing, their value would be supported---credit would acquire "new strength---and its circulation be less liable to be embarrassed, by "the small volume of the ancient debt, so greatly dreaded. This "operation, I imagine, might be repeated with success a year or two "after the first conversion to life annuities; and would serve to con- "vince the most obstinate, that the Coloffus of the national debt might "be conquered, or reduced to such limits as it would be imprudent "and dangerous not to allow it: since I have demonstrated, that there

* 3,500,000*l.* at four *per cent*, costs the nation annually 140,000*l.*
9,000000*l.* at three *per cent*, costs ——— 270,000*l.* } total — 410,00

12,500,000*l.* at seven and an half *per cent*, costs —— 835,000*l.* deficien
to be supplied by the sinking fund for some years.

" muſt abſolutely be a ſufficient circulation of theſe artificial riches, " which credit has created, which credit ſupports, and which are " neceſſary for its own exiſtence."

THE general objection that has been made to the alteration here propoſed, of converting part of the capitals of the reputed NATIONAL DEBT into life annuities, is, that the public revenues could not provide for the annual payments of theſe annuities, without creating additional taxes. This Mr. Pinto obviates, by the uſe he makes of the growing produce of the ſinking fund: and could I perſwade myſelf, that refunding of capitals, without aboliſhing entirely, the taxes impoſed and appropriated for the payment of the annual rents or annuities, would anſwer any beneficial purpoſe to the community, I ſhould moſt earneſtly recommend his ſcheme, as the only one which ſeems to promiſe temporary advantages.

BUT when I conſider, that one year of war may occaſion a new loan, equal to the firſt unneceſſary extinction; that, if no ſuch event happens, it will be thirty-three years, or more (according to Dr. Price's tables of the medium expectation of life) before it will be poſſible to aboliſh any of the oppreſſive taxes by its means; that the preſent circumſtances of the nation have raiſed life annuities to ten and eleven *per cent*, on indiſputable ſecurity; and laſtly, that Mr. Pinto himſelf aſſures us, we may go on borrowing to any amount, while we can raiſe money to pay the intereſt of new loans. I own, I am confirmed in my opinion, that government has no buſineſs to refund capitals, always to be found at the open market; and that it is a miſapplication of the ſinking fund, to employ its ſurpluſſes in this manner.

ANOTHER propoſal of the ſame gentleman, is, to create an auxiliary and permanent ſinking fund, to operate equally in times of war or peace. For this purpoſe he recommends ſome new taxes, which ſhall be conſidered in the third diviſion of my ſubject.

THE operations of this auxiliary ſinking fund, are intended to keep down the rate of intereſt; and he imagines, that the uninterrupted reimburſement of one million and an half annually, in time of war, would have this good effect; and enable government to raiſe new loans,

on

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on eaſier terms. But I am totally at a loſs to conceive, how the throwing this money into the market, ſhould diſpoſe the people, who had juſt diſengaged it from a diſadvantageous contract, (perhaps three *per cent.* annuities) to be thereby induced to advance it again, on low terms; when it is more than probable, that the proſpect of a long war, and the immediate preſſing demands of government, would raiſe the intereſt of money to five, or ſix *per cent.* I am certain that, in this caſe, it would be more beneficial to apply the million and an half to the current ſervices of the year. At all events, I imagine no adminiſtration would be ſo abſurd as to expend one million and an half yearly, in fruitleſs reimburſements of funded capitals, while the exigencies of the nation required ten or twelve millions to be raiſed on the ſame plan, and added to the old funds.

We will now proceed to Dr. Price's ſcheme; which is no other than a reſtoration of the SINKING FUND:---"And if the whole of it "cannot be unalienably applied to its original uſe, let ſome part of it "be ſo applied, that the nation may, at leaſt, enjoy a chance of being "ſaved." Moſt certainly, not a part only, but the whole, without loſs of time, if there is any chance that the nation will be ruined, unleſs it is ſo applied. But I apprehend, I have already demonſtrated, that all our fears on that head are merely chimerical. Yet, for the ſatisfaction of the public, I muſt intreat the worthy Doctor, who is a complete maſter of figures, to continue, with his uſual accuracy, the valuable tables of Mr. Hooke; ſtating the annual increment of our coin, perſonal ſtock, and land capital: and, if I am not miſtaken, he will then find, the national property ſo conſiderably increaſed by our territorial and commercial acquiſitions, that, if we muſt ſtill call the capitals of our funds the NATIONAL DEBT, we are at a greater diſtance from the failure of public credit, than we were in 1750; and that, if we derive the ſame benefits from our extenſive commerce, for twenty years to come, we ſhall be in leſs danger, from ſuch a debt amounting to two hundred millions, than we were from the debt outſtanding at the death of QUEEN ANN, amounting to not quite fifty-four.

But

BUT I am not without hopes, that my new hypotheſis will be admitted; in which caſe, he will ſee the vaſt diſproportion between the real NATIONAL DEBT, I mean the four millions and an half yearly rents or annuities, payable to the public creditors, and the annual income or produce of the whole national capital.

IN a word, let him take it either way, from his known candour, it cannot be doubted, but he will entertain a more favourable opinion of the ſtate of our finances, than that, which he has rather warmly expreſſed, in his Appeal to the Public on the National Debt.

RESOLVED not to ſwell this volume with arithmetical calculations and tables, I ſhall only mention one proof of the increaſe of the national capital, eaſily to be aſcertained by Mr. Hooke's tables. Land, in 1748, was worth only twenty years purchaſe; it is now worth thirty; conſequently, the amount of our land capital is one third more than it was in 1748: and, if the ſame proportion holds with reſpect to coin, which may I think be fairly inferred from the riſe of land, theſe two articles, independant of perſonal ſtock, will be ſufficient to convince us, that we are in better circumſtances, all things conſidered, than at any former period of our hiſtory, ſince we became one of the firſt powers of Europe, as a body politic, and the chief, as a commercial people. But how will the account ſtand, if it ſhall appear, that the third article alone, has been more than trebled in the twenty-two years which have elapſed ſince Mr. Hooke's laſt calculation! and, if I am rightly informed by ſome eminent merchants, whom I have conſulted on the ſuppoſed value of perſonal ſtock, this is nearly the true ſtate of it. Surely then, all our fears muſt be diſpelled concerning the principal ſum of one hundred and twenty-ſix millions: we ſhall not want to be paid off; and ſhall only wiſh to ſee the ſurpluſſes of the public revenue applied either to the extinction of the moſt burthenſome of our taxes, or if that cannot take place, to the formation of a new fund for the payment of the annuities of future loans, without laying any more taxes on the people, in times of war.

FOR this ſeeming digreſſion, I ſhall make no apology; as it paves the way to a demonſtration of the inexpediency of Dr. Price's ſyſtem.

WE

We are told, by this gentleman, that there are three ways in which a kingdom may apply the ſavings, or ſurpluſſes, known by the title of the ſinking fund.

"First, The intereſts diſengaged, from time to time, by the "payments made with it, may be themſelves applied to the payment "of the public debts.

"Or, ſecondly, They may be ſpent on current ſervices.

"Or, thirdly, They may be immediately annihilated, by aboliſhing "the taxes charged with them.

"In the firſt way of employing a ſinking fund, it becomes a fund "increaſing itſelf. Every new intereſt diſengaged by it, containing "the ſame powers with it, and joining its operations to it; and the "ſame being true of every intereſt diſengaged by every intereſt, it muſt "act, not merely with an increaſing force, but with a force, the in-"creaſe of which is continually accelerated; and which, therefore, "however ſmall at firſt, muſt in time become equal to any effect.

"In the ſecond way of applying a ſinking fund, it admits of no "increaſe; and muſt act for ever with the ſame force. In other words "---A ſinking fund, according to the firſt method of applying it, is, "if I may be allowed the compariſon, like a grain of corn ſown, "which, by having its produce ſown, and the produce of that pro-"duce, and ſo on, is capable of an increaſe, that will ſoon ſtock a "province, or ſupport a kingdom. On the contrary---A ſinking "fund, according to the ſecond way of applying it, is like a ſeed, the "produce of which is conſumed; and which, therefore, can be of no "farther uſe; and has all its powers deſtroyed.---What has been now "ſaid of the ſecond mode, is true in a higher degree of the third: "for, in this caſe, the diſengaged intereſts, inſtead of being either "added to the fund, or ſpent from year to year on uſeful ſervices, are "immediately given up.

"In ſhort, a fund of the firſt ſort, is money bearing compound "intereſt--a fund of the ſecond ſort, is money bearing ſimple intereſt--- "and a fund of the third ſort, is money bearing no intereſt. The "difference between them is, therefore, properly infinite."

THUS have I given an analyſis of the leading principle, on which Dr. Price's ſcheme turns. The whole depends on the progreſſive profits of compound intereſt; the advantages of which are ſo great, that the Doctor tells us---"ONE PENNY, put out at Our Saviour's "birth to five *per cent*, compound intereſt, would, before this time, "have increaſed to a greater ſum, than would be contained in a "hundred and fifty millions of earths, all ſolid gold---But if put out "to ſimple intereſt, it would, in the ſame time, have amounted to no "more than ſeven ſhillings and four-pence half-penny."

ON the ſtrength of this ſpeculation, he is angry with our government for having hitherto choſen to improve money in the *laſt*, rather than the *firſt* of theſe ways. I hope, however, he will not be diſpleaſed with me, if, without following him through all his mathematical demonſtrations, I tell him, in few words, that theſe ſpeculations are curious and amuſing, but can never be of any real utility in the affairs of kingdoms, for they are totally impracticable, owing to the fluctuations in all human ſyſtems of policy; and I ſhall prove this by his own arguments.

IN one part of his appeal, he ſuppoſes a period of eighty-ſix years for the effectual operation of an annual ſum, ſet apart for the paying off the national debt, by the profits of compound intereſt. But the leaſt interruption, an alienation of the ſum, though ever ſo neceſſary, deſtroys the effect of the whole plan: and I aver it to be as impoſſible to avoid ſuch interruptions to any regular finance operations, in the courſe of eighty-ſix years, in a commercial kingdom, as to place a penny out, ſo as to yield compound intereſt for 1772 years, without interruption. Theſe computations look very well in figures, and upon tables: they are proper entertainment for the Royal Society; but they will not do buſineſs at the Treaſury.

THE plea aſſigned by the adminiſtrators of our finances, for applying the produce of the ſinking fund to current ſervices, is, according to Dr. Price, "That when money is wanted, it makes no difference "whether it is taken from hence, or procured by making a new loan, "charged on new funds." This he calls a SOPHISM; and aſſerts, in oppoſition

oppoſition to it, that the difference between theſe two ways of procuring money, is no leſs than infinite.

I SHOULD readily admit this argument, if it could be proved, that every thing which is barely poſſible, is practicable; but while no inſtance can be brought from hiſtory, of any one nation having employed the ſavings of its revenues in placing them out at compound intereſt, I cannot but lament that ſo much time and good ſenſe ſhould be miſapplied in forming calculations and tables, to confirm theories, which no man will deny, but which all will allow can never be reduced to practice, even by private families, much leſs by kingdoms.

ASTONISHING would be the produce of one hundred pounds ſet apart by a fond parent, as the baſis of fortunes for five children; and what an eaſy method of providing for them in about forty years, to employ it at compound intereſt! But unfortunately, a variety of circumſtances muſt neceſſarily occur, to interrupt the train of progreſſive multiplication on which theſe fortunes would ſolely depend.---It would be ridiculous to enumerate them, they are ſo eaſy to be conceived. If the money was lent on private ſecurity, failures, retarded payments, and other cauſes, would occaſion deductions and loſs of time, which would overturn the whole ſyſtem: if on public, the death of the parent, the ſeparation and allotment of a fifth to each child, the neceſſary alienation of the whole to executors or truſtees, the replacing the principal, and ſeveral other incidents, would cauſe ſimilar interruptions, attended with the ſame conſequences; for no time is to be loſt---the very hour the intereſt of a capital is received, it muſt be placed out, to engender its intereſt; and if an holiday intervenes, if an executor takes time to prove a will at the commons, or to attend on other affairs---adieu to the vaſt benefits ariſing from compound intereſt! You ſee no allowance for loſs of time in the computed tables, nor for any incidental expences; the amount of which would abſorb a whole year's income of the intereſt upon intereſt of ſmall ſums.

FOR inſtance, I receive, in the preſent moment, three pounds, for one year's intereſt, on one hundred pounds three *per cent.* annuities; to follow the advantages of compound intereſt according to the tables,

the three pounds muſt be inſtantly inveſted in the ſame manner, or at leaſt at the ſame rate of intereſt as the one hundred pounds; and ſuppoſing this done, at the expiration of another year it will yield me twenty-one pence, half-penny---which muſt be again inſtantly ſet to work in like manner to produce its farthings:---but in the common courſe of things, either loſs of time, or expences, we may plainly perceive, would deſtroy the whole connection, which muſt be preſerved entire, to complete its alchemical operations.

DR. PRICE confeſſes, that the duration of the lives of individuals is confined within limits ſo narrow, as not to admit, in any great degree, of the advantages that may be derived from the amazing increaſe of money, bearing compound intereſt. But a period of fifty or ſixty, or one hundred years, being little in the duration of kingdoms, he adds, "They are capable of ſecuring them in almoſt any degree." The very contrary, however, I apprehend to be the caſe; becauſe the fluctuations and revolutions in the moſt permanent revenues of a kingdom, occaſion very material alterations in the ſtate of its finances, in leſs periods of time than thoſe he has given: which makes his ſyſtem more hazardous and uncertain with reſpect to government, than individuals. An increaſe of a ſucceſsful courſe of ſmuggling; or a decreaſe of the conſumption of exciſed commodities, through unavoidable accidents, ſuch as an epidemical diſeaſe carrying off great numbers of people; are ſufficient to impair the growing powers of the ſinking fund, to retard or ſuſpend its operations, and conſequently, to overwhelm the project of employing even 400,000£ *per annum* regularly, at compound intereſt. I muſt therefore declare, that, conſidering the preſent circumſtances of the kingdom, the Doctor's plan is not ſo eligible as Mr. Hooke's; becauſe he propoſes not only to continue the preſent taxes for a great number of years, but to borrow any future ſums government may want, by the creation of new taxes; that the ſinking fund may be at liberty to employ its produce, or a conſiderable part of it, at compound intereſt; in order to pay off ideal capitals; which we do not want to receive from the hands of government, while we can realize them at pleaſure, in the open market.

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THE ſecond method of employing the ſinking fund, eſpecially in times of war, is rational, prudent and humane: nor can I conceive how any miniſtry could urge ſo weak a plea for this application of it, as the Doctor mentions; for the fact is, that whenever the produce of the ſinking fund has been granted for current ſervices, there has been a very great, inſtead of no difference, between taking the money wanted from it, or procuring it by a new loan, on new appropriated taxes. In the firſt place, higher intereſt muſt have been given for the new loans, than that which would have been extinguiſhed by paying off the ſame quantity of the capitals of the old funds: ſecondly, it would have been impolitic and cruel to have oppreſſed the people with additional taxes, while a reſource was in hand to prevent ſuch an odious meaſure.---A meaſure which muſt have furniſhed the Doctor himſelf with freſh reaſons for exclaiming, as he does, againſt the number of tax-gatherers, of various denominations.

THE third uſe to be made of the ſinking fund, equity and ſound policy ſeem to demand, in times of profound tranquility. It is then that the whole nation has a right to expect the extinction of the moſt burthenſome of its taxes. But, inſtead of this, we have ſeen principal ſums inconſiderately paid off, and the taxes which were created and expreſsly appropriated to the payment of the intereſt of theſe extinguiſhed capitals, continued, and, in fact, thereby made perpetual. This is the mal-adminiſtration of the finances I mean to canvaſs *.

A FOURTH method of applying the growing produce of the ſinking fund, in times of peace, when it is not wanted for current ſervices, I ſhall beg leave to call my own project. It is founded on this revenue principle of the ancients: "To make proviſion, in times of public "tranquility, for the exigencies of the ſtate, in times of public danger "and general expence."

* An inſtance of this has happened lately.—The three and an half *per cents*, borrowed in 1756, were paid off, both principal and intereſt, in 1770. An additional ſtamp-duty of twenty ſhillings on licences for retailing beer and other exciſeable liquors, an additional duty on cards and dice, and an exciſe on ſilver plate, were all granted to raiſe the intereſt of this loan; but provided they did not produce a ſufficiency, the remainder was charged on the ſinking fund: ſo that, by this contrivance, thoſe taxes make a part of the ſinking fund, and were not taken off, as in juſtice they ought to be, on the annihilation of the loan that gave birth to them.

If the annual produce of the ſinking fund was alienated and appropriated to the formation of a new fund, which ſhould be faithfully applied to the ſole purpoſe of diſcharging the intereſt or annuities of any future loans the government may have occaſion to borrow, I imagine this deſirable end would be attained; we ſhould be enabled to borrow as many millions as we could poſſibly want (with honeſt management) in the courſe of the next war that ſhall happen; and government might very ſafely declare to the people, that, having determined to continue the preſent taxes, to indemnify them for this neceſſary meaſure, no new ones ſhall be impoſed, on any pretext whatever, till all, or the greateſt part of the old are aboliſhed.

The common objection againſt amaſſing treaſures in this kingdom, I am ſenſible, will be oppoſed to this plan. It will be ſaid, that the power and influence of the miniſtry and of the crown, will be thereby increaſed; but in reply, let it be obſerved, that the new fund ſhould, by an act for that purpoſe, be ſolely at the diſpoſal of the three eſtates of the realm in parliament aſſembled; and the application of any part of its produce to the purpoſe of paying the intereſts of new loans, ſhould neceſſarily conſtitute an enacting clauſe in the acts for raiſing ſuch new ſupplies.

The ſucceſs of this ſcheme depends on a general conviction of the truth of the propoſitions already advanced; and of the following, which I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate in the ſubſequent pages.

No abolition or conſiderable reduction of the preſent taxes can poſſibly take place, within the next fifty years, on the preſent plan of making partial, annual reimburſements of the capitals of the reputed national debt.

New additional taxes muſt be created, when another war breaks out, if the government does not adopt ſome plan in time of peace, to make proviſion for the intereſts of future loans.

But if we diſcard all idle notions about refunding capitals, and advert ſolely to the laſt mentioned object, no new taxes can poſſibly be required, unleſs any of thoſe violent revolutions in government ſhould happen, which overturn the beſt ſyſtems of political œconomy.

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ALTERATIONS and conſiderable improvements may be made in the public revenues of the kingdom, by ſubſtituting more equal and leſs burthenſome taxes than thoſe now laid on the abſolute neceſſaries of life; and by other expedients, which I ſhall ſubmit, with great deference, to the conſideration of the very able and active miniſter now preſiding at the head of the treaſury department; whoſe only defect ſeems to be, that he is too much ſwayed by ancient prejudices, concerning the weight of the nominal capitals of the reputed national debt, and by official precedents: much, however, may be expected from his invincible fortitude, if he is once convinced of the neceſſity of adopting new meaſures; and we have already ſeen frequent intimations thrown out in the public papers, of his intention to give ſome relief to the induſtrious lower claſſes of the people, by taking off, or reducing, the exciſes on ſoap, candles and leather. But, as we have juſt obſerved, this cannot be done in the preſent circumſtances of the nation, otherwiſe than by providing other funds, whoſe produce will make up the deficiency occaſioned by ſuch deſirable alterations.

THIS naturally leads to an enquiry into the nature and conſequences of taxes, and of the beſt methods of levying them, conſiſtent with the principles of equity and humanity.

PART

PART III.

ON

TAXATION,

AND

The beſt Means of improving the Public Revenues of this Kingdom.

IT is univerſally allowed, that the ſubjects of every ſtate are in duty bound to ſupport the adminiſtration of government, and to protect their country from the hoſtile attempts of foreign enemies. There are but three ways of diſcharging this general obligation: by perſonal ſervices, by contributions in kind; or by aids in ſpecie. We have ſhewn, in the firſt part of this treatiſe, by what means military ſervices, and provincial quotas in kind, came to ceaſe. We have traced the origin, and juſtified the complete eſtabliſhment of public credit in England; for the ſupport of which, general, and we may ſay perpetual, aids in ſpecie are indiſpenſably requiſite: and, we have demonſtrated beyond a doubt, that the nominal capitals, vulgarly called the national debt, abſtracted from all conſiderations of the annuities or annual rents they are entitled to, are not a national grievance by which this nation can ever be greatly embarraſſed, much leſs involved in bankruptcy.

OUR next buſineſs is to enquire into the conſequences of the real national debt: I mean, the ſum of four millions and an half annually due, and payable half yearly, by expreſs ſtipulation to the public creditors of the nation, as well foreigners as natives; and for which the honour, credit and good faith of the three eſtates of the realm, that is to ſay, of the whole community, as a body politic, ſtands engaged.

HERE the weight of the charge lies:---this annual debt is become a permanent expence to the nation; every individual is obliged to contribute more or leſs towards defraying it, by different modes of taxation; and all taxes, of what nature ſoever, are paid, in every kingdom, with a bad grace.

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THIS may be accounted for, from the following cauſes:

WANT of reflection, or a bad diſpoſition, on the part of the ſubjects: or,

A DEFECT on the part of government, in the nature of the taxes; in the manner of levying them; or in the adminiſtration of them, when accumulated.

THE ſeparate diſcuſſion of theſe points, will conduct us to the ſource of all the complaints againſt the burthen of our taxes, impoſed for the annual diſcharge of four millions and an half, the only actual, permanent debt of the nation.

IN the political part of this volume, it was demonſtrated, that the right of repreſentation is the ineſtimable privilege, which gives to the Britiſh conſtitution, pre-eminence over all other forms of government. A moſt corroborating evidence, in confirmation of this truth, ariſes out of our preſent ſubject.

THE aids, or ſubſidies required by government, are agreed to and voted by the repreſentatives of the people: the ways and means of levying them in ſpecie, are likewiſe aſſented to by the ſame body. This proceſs gives to our whole ſyſtem of taxation, the ſemblance of voluntary contributions: I would have ſaid, that they are ſo in reality: but as the money bills are leſs debated than any other point, becauſe not one eighth part of the Houſe have the leaſt knowledge of the Elements of Finances; and two thirds come prepared to grant all that the miniſter for the time being requires, in the very mode he preſcribes; the Houſe of Commons can hardly claim the merit of having taxed their conſtituents adviſedly and freely.

HENCE it is, that obligations on the part of government, coeval with the right of taxation, have been violated, with impunity; and the ſubjects in general, but more eſpecially thoſe who are not virtually repreſented *, have had juſt cauſe of complaint.

* THE right of repreſentation is, in this reſpect, incomplete. In ſo eſſential a point as that of levying money on the whole community, it ſhould ſeem conſiſtent with the genius of Britiſh freedom, that every houſekeeper, every father, or maſter of a family, whether a freeholder or not, ſhould be effectively repreſented.

As it is the duty of ſubjects to contribute to the public expences of the nation, ſo is it likewiſe that of the adminiſtrators of its revenues, to levy their contributions in the moſt eaſy and equitable manner, that can poſſibly be ſuggeſted: another indiſpenſable obligation on their part is, to apply them for the purpoſes only, for which they were granted, with the ſtricteſt œconomy: and the laſt, though not the leaſt duty incumbent on them, is, to reduce or aboliſh the taxes, which the neceſſities of the ſtate have created, when its circumſtances will clearly admit of ſuch relief being given to the ſubjects.

THERE are many things requiſite to make a tax eaſy and equitable.

LENIENT meaſures muſt be purſued in the collection; and it muſt be made at the leaſt poſſible expence.

FOR oppreſſive, violent meaſures, will excite revolt, or drive the unhappy ſubjects to ſeek a remedy in the frauds of ſmuggling; and the ſame miſchiefs are always to be dreaded from an expenſive mode of collection; for it will be urged, that with proper œconomy, by diminiſhing the number of collectors and their ſalaries, leſs contributions might ſuffice for the exigencies of the ſtate.

TAXES ſhould be proportioned to the abilities of the ſubjects reſpectively; or they cannot be either eaſy or equitable. They muſt be intolerable, if they reduce induſtrious ſubjects to a diſtreſsful ſituation: they muſt be inequitable, if they are unequally levied, ſo that the claſſes of inhabitants, the leaſt able to bear them, pay the largeſt proportion of the public contributions; or that the inhabitants of the ſame claſs, are more rigidly aſſeſſed in one part of the kingdom, than in another.

BUT the moſt eſſential meaſure to render taxes both eaſy and equitable is, to impoſe them in ſuch a manner, as that a great part, if not the whole, may be recovered by the inferior claſſes of the people, through the medium of their own induſtry.

M. DE MIRABEAU, in his Theory of Taxes, ſays, "That it would "be the philoſopher's ſtone to a ſtate, to find the means of ſetting the "machine of the Finances in motion, by regular ſprings---not only "without exaction---without rigour---without profuſion---but with "emulation;"

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worth above eighteen years purchaſe: they now ſell publicly for thirty, yet no new aſſeſſment is made, though a moderate advance, levied with diſcretion and impartiality, would enable government to extinguiſh the oppreſſive taxes on the neceſſaries of life. This, with ſimilar judicious and equitable arrangements of the land-tax, has often been unſucceſsfully propoſed. SIR JAMES STEUART, the lateſt writer of repute on the ſubject, obſerves, that the moſt proper method of impoſing a land tax is, without doubt, to confine the impoſition to the rents of lands only, and to lay it on in proportion to them: but, ſays he, how is it to be expected that ever ſuch a plan can take place, in a nation where the proprietors of land govern the ſtate?

MY anſwer is, let a ſpirited miniſter obtain the confidence of the king and of the people, by the rectitude and ſagacity of his conduct, and he may do almoſt what he pleaſes in parliament. If he has the courage to propoſe the expedient, the nation will ſupport him in it; and thoſe that revolt againſt it in the Houſe, need not govern the ſtate long, for he may try the experiment at the eve of a diſſolution of parliament; and I apprehend, if the people once have their eyes opened to their true intereſts, they will not re-elect the oppoſers of this juſt improvement of the public revenues.

THOUGH a time of peace is not the proper ſeaſon for impoſing taxes, it is moſt aſſuredly, the only one, for making beneficial changes and regulations. It is then, that experiments ſhould be tried, and improvements attempted, though at the riſk of ſuffering ſome temporary deficiencies. If any ſhould happen from ſubſtituting more equitable and eaſy taxes, in the room of thoſe propoſed to be aboliſhed, the ſinking fund ought in juſtice to bear them; for the exciſes on candles, ſoap and leather, were made perpetual, for the creation of that fund, at a time when they muſt otherwiſe have been extinguiſhed, the capitals being refunded, for the intereſts of which they were impoſed and appropriated: and, undoubtedly, this method of employing a ſmall part of the ſinking fund, would be more equitable, and better approved by the public, than the preſent uſeleſs meaſure of paying off

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ſmall portions of nominal capitals*. The ſyſtem of policy with reſpect to money matters, being totally changed, from lending with an intention to be repaid the capital, to lending with an intention to receive a perpetual intereſt; capitals are now out of the queſtion; and the grand object a Britiſh miniſter, at the head of the treaſury department, ought to have in view, is, to keep up a permanent fund, for ſatisfying the only demand the creditors of the nation can make on government. If he does this by eaſy, equitable contributions, he will keep the rate of intereſt low; he will prevent any great fluctuations in the price of the transferable capitals at market; which will anſwer all the purpoſes of refunding capitals, by facilitating alienations, when individuals are diſpoſed to part with their property in the funds; and he will be enabled to borrow freſh capitals, if the wants of the ſtate require it, "by offering the ſmalleſt poſſible advantages a pen can "deſcribe" to monied men.

ARE not all theſe benefits worth acquiring, even at the hazard of ſmall deficiencies, to be occaſioned by equitable alterations in the ſyſtem of taxation? But if ways and means can be pointed out to remove well-founded complaints, which make ſome of the taxes not ſo productive as they ought to be, and at the ſame time to augment the public revenue, by deſirable alterations; ſurely the miniſter will not reject them, merely becauſe they come from the hands of a private individual. It has been the fatal error of moſt of his predeceſſors, to imagine that all revenue knowledge was confined to the Treaſury Board, or to the committee of ways and means---but I have far better hopes of Lord North.

ALL taxes levied in ſpecie, may be divided into two claſſes.

THOSE which are raiſed on poſſeſſions; and,

THOSE which are levied on conſumption.

THE firſt, muſt chiefly affect the opulent and the idle.

* WHEN, in the early times of public credit, the repayment of the capital was the chief object of the lender, a much more extenſive fund was neceſſary than at preſent, when no more is required than the payment of the intereſt. *See Sir James Stuart's Political Oeconomy*, vol. ii. p. 465.

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THE latter, will moſtly affect the induſtrious lower claſſes of the people; and will injure the commerce of the ſtate, by diſcouraging population.

THE land-tax, that on perſonal ſtock incorporated with it, the tax on coaches, on ſilver plate, on houſes, and on windows, are all that I can recollect of the firſt claſs.

AN explanatory catalogue of thoſe which compoſe the ſecond, would form a large volume.

"At the beginning of the reign of GEORGE II, we had ſubſiſting "thirty-eight branches of cuſtoms, twenty-nine branches of exciſe, "and eighteen branches of inland duties; in all eighty-five different "kinds of taxes: and the laws relating to them make by far the "greateſt part of the many large folio volumes of ſtatutes enacted ſince "the Revolution; whereas all the ſtatutes, from the beginning of the "monarchy, to that famous æra, are (including the original French "and Latin, and the Engliſh tranſlation) contained in two folio volumes; "of which thoſe that relate to taxes, make but a very inconſiderable "part *."

SINCE the laſt mentioned period, five new articles have been added to the cuſtoms, nine to the exciſes, and two to the inland duties. We have, therefore, an hundred and one different ſpecies of taxes ſubſiſting at this time; of which only four can be ſaid to affect chiefly the opulent and idle: all the reſt, being laid upon articles of conſumption, affect all orders of men in the community; not excepting thoſe who ſubſiſt on charity. It is no wonder, therefore, that, on the one hand, great complaints ſhould be made of the weight of the annual national debt; and, on the other, that elaborate treatiſes ſhould be written in defence of taxation in general; but more eſpecially of that prevailing ſpecies of it, which takes in every article of univerſal conſumption.

WE will, in the firſt place, attend to the juſt complaints, which have augmented progreſſively with this ſpecies of taxes.

THE tributes, aids, or ſubſidies granted by our anceſtors to their kings, for the ſupport of their civil government, and to defray all

* Cunningham's Hiſtory of Taxes, part iv.

public

public expences, conſiſted in certain duties on the importation and exportation of goods and merchandiſe: theſe, at length, obtained the denomination of CUSTOMS, becauſe ſuch duties had been uſually or cuſtomarily paid; the very term, therefore, ſhews, that they were often temporary; and many branches of them were accordingly ſuſpended at different periods. But as ſoon as public credit was eſtabliſhed, and the demands of the ſtate increaſed, they were all made perpetual, under the title of the Old Subſidy; and other CUSTOMS were added to them, from time to time, under the title of the New Subſidy.

THESE are the moſt natural contributions that can be levied, next to thoſe on poſſeſſions; and they are conſiſtent with the genius of a free commercial nation: in many reſpects they favour inland trade, and ſupport univerſal commerce. But the method of levying theſe duties, the preſent adminiſtration of the cuſtoms, is a groſs impoſition, and a heavy burthen on the community.

THE duties to be paid on upwards of forty branches of old and new ſubſidies, would involve our merchants in an endleſs labyrinth, if they were not to entruſt the whole management of their entries to the Cuſtom-houſe clerks. The many exceptions, and exceptions from exceptions---the many regulations, and regulations of regulations, for collecting thoſe cuſtoms, and for paying the drawbacks upon goods re-exported, make the whole buſineſs ſo difficult, that no merchant is maſter of it. A new tax is therefore levied upon Britiſh merchants at the Cuſtom-houſe; which muſt be ſuperadded to the value of his merchandiſe, and greatly enhance its price. The clerks make a ſeparate charge for doing their duty; by which they raiſe large contributions; and theſe finally fall upon the conſumers. I will not follow the cry of moſt writers on the ſubject of our taxes, by exclaiming againſt the number and the ſalaries of theſe clerks: but it is notorious, that many of them, who have only fifty or ſixty pounds *per annum* from government, extort three or four hundred, for diſpatching buſineſs, which they ought to tranſact, with the ſame diligence, correctneſs and expedition, without fee or reward. Upon articles of foreign importation, the

the damage is not ſo great; they are not always objects of univerſal conſumption; nor is it fit they ſhould: but all deductions from bounties and drawbacks on exportation, or re-exportation, are pernicious, in the higheſt degree, to the trading intereſt of this country.

THIS is an abuſe which demands an immediate remedy.---It renders a mode of taxation, in its nature eaſy and equitable, rigid and partial:--- for he who ſubmits to extortion with the beſt grace, gets his buſineſs the firſt diſpatched at our Cuſtom-houſe.

BUT the CUSTOMS would produce an addition of 125,000£. annually, if proper meaſures were taken to ſuppreſs ſmuggling. The people, therefore, have a right to complain, if new taxes have been created to augment the public revenue; becauſe proper care has not been taken to make thoſe before ſubſiſting, ſufficiently productive.

ON this ſubject I am enabled to write with confidence, and a degree of certainty: for while I had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty, it was my good fortune to be employed by the Lords of the Treaſury, through the recommendation of that intelligent and active miniſter, the Earl of Sandwich, in ſecret meaſures for ſuppreſſing the contraband trade carried on from the coaſts of Flanders to Great Britain; and ſo effectually to carry into execution the propoſals tranſmitted to me from the Treaſury, by that noble earl, then ſecretary of ſtate, during the winter of 1764, and the ſpring of 1765, that the late Mr. Grenville (at that time firſt lord of the Treaſury) expreſſed his particular approbation of my conduct, by letter, dated November 27, 1764; and in the month of June, 1765, tranſmitted me an order on the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms for a pecuniary reward, aſſigned me by the Board of Treaſury.

IN the courſe of this ſervice, I had an opportunity of forming an eſtimate of the annual loſſes ſuſtained in the different branches of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, by the illicit commerce carried on from the ports of Fluſhing, Oſtend, Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne: by the neareſt computation the nature of the proofs will admit, they amount to a ſixteenth part of the net revenue now paid into the Exchequer, as the annual

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annual produce of the cuſtoms*. The means of preventing theſe frauds are obvious; but the misfortune is, that one miniſter ſeldom approves what another has done, eſpecially if the predeceſſor has made himſelf unpopular: thus all Mr. Grenville's plans for the improvement of the public revenue, proved abortive; becauſe he had been betrayed, by his enemies, into the pernicious meaſure of taxing the colonies; though the ſucceſs of his domeſtic regulations of the adminiſtration of the cuſtoms, began to be ſenſibly felt by the fair trader, and to produce an augmentation of the public revenue, when he was unfortunately diſmiſſed: and were the ſame meaſures now reſumed, they would be attended with happier effects under the preſent miniſter, who has no formidable oppoſition to encounter.

To enumerate the ſpecies of frauds, to deſcribe the methods of carrying them on, and to point out the perſons who connive at, countenance, or ſupport ſmuggling, would be both highly improper, and foreign to my preſent deſign. I ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, That the armed cutters employed by Mr. Greenville did conſiderable ſervice, and amply indemnified the Exchequer for the expences incurred by them; but that the end I have in view, of making ſo large an addition to the revenue as 125,000*l.* *per annum*, will never be accompliſhed, unleſs it is made felony in the Cuſtom-houſe and Exciſe officers to connive at ſmuggling, and to receive rewards for this infamous breach of truſt. Raiſe the ſalaries of inferior officers, ſo as to enable married men to ſubſiſt their families---then make a breach of truſt felony in them, as it is in the clerks of the Bank---and break all officers, civil and military, as well as all maſters of packet-boats, and other veſſels employed by government, detected in ſmuggling:---theſe, with two or three other expedients, (which would loſe their effect if communicated to the public) carried vigorouſly into execution, would ſtrike at the root of ſmuggling, and effectually prevent the greateſt part of it, in leſs than ſix months.

* The Cuſtoms are eſtimated at 2,000000*l.*—the ſum defrauded amounts to about 125,000*l.*—a ſum ſufficient to pay the intereſt of more than four millions of three *per cent.* annuities.

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DUTIES on the importation and exportation of merchandiſe, were always chearfully ſubmitted to in this kingdom, while they were few in number, and the method of collecting them eaſy and intelligent: by proper regulations their number, though not their amount, may be reduced; and this will always be an eaſy, equitable, permanent branch of the public revenue, conſtantly increaſing, if it is rightly adminiſtered.

BUT there is another mode of taxation, which falls very heavy on univerſal conſumption: I mean Exciſes, or inland duties on home commodities, ſubjected to Exciſe laws. This ſpecies of taxes, had only been occaſionally introduced before the Revolution; and whenever it was practiſed, though but as a temporary aid, it failed not to excite murmurs and diſcontents, and ſometimes violent inſurrections of the people. "They are now become ſo general, that moſt of the neceſſaries "and conveniences of life are exciſed; and by the converſion of certain "ſubſidies or cuſtoms into exciſes, the trader is put under a new ſet "of laws, formerly unknown to our conſtitution, and deſtructive of "its eſſence; for the powers given to the commiſſioners of Exciſe, "disfranchiſe every Engliſhman, as far as he is a dealer in exciſeable "commodities. The great and fundamental privilege of trials by "juries is preſerved to the ſubject in all our laws reſpecting the cuſtoms, "but it is loſt in all caſes relative to the exciſes *."

IT is to be lamented, that this diſagreeable expedient ſhould have been ſo much approved of by government, as by ſeveral money acts, of late years, to have been made perpetual; as it is to be feared that, on a ſtrict ſcrutiny, it will be found, that exciſes proceed on falſe principles.

FOR, in the firſt place, they are repugnant to the true revenue principle, of raiſing contributions, by means---the leaſt diſguſtful or oppreſſive to the people.

SECONDLY, They throw the burthen of the public expences on manufactures and inland trade.

THIRDLY, They ſubject the loweſt claſſes of the people, who, in the ancient free ſtates, were exempted from all taxes, not only to very

* *Arguments againſt Exciſes*, by Caleb D'Anvers, Eſq. of Gray's-Inn. London, printed by H. Haines, 1733.

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heavy impoſts, but to ſummary, arbitrary dec
principles of equity and humanity.

THESE are the general arguments, which I have
writers on the ſubject, againſt exciſes, or inland
home conſumption, ſubject to Exciſe laws.

IN reply to which, I find great pains taken
abilities, to vindicate this mode of taxation, and t
excellence and utility, in preference to all others.
likewiſe ſupported by the experience of many pov
whoſe chief revenues ariſe from theſe duties; a
that the inconveniences complained of, are not fel
the degree ſuggeſted by their opponents.

THE examples of Holland, France, and in this ki
as evidences of the demonſtrative kind, to prove,
ſumption, are not ſo pernicious or burthenſo
imagined *. Mr. Pinto, and Sir James Steuart, a
in favour of this ſpecies of taxation; aſſerting, tha
requiſites I have pointed out, of being eaſy and eq
they, "taxes on conſumption are finally paid by tl
"they are recovered by the induſtrious poor, in tl
"their labour. The increaſed circulation which
"from theſe taxes cauſes, when iſſued out again l
"payment of the annual intereſt of the national
"demand for works of induſtry and ingenuity; b
"inferior claſſes readily draw back the whole ar
"they pay on the articles they conſume, includin
"life; and they thereby gain a new facultative po
"contributions in future."

* EN Hollande, le pain, qui eſt un object de premiere neceſſi
double preſque le prix; tous les objects de conſommation y ſont p
& malgré cela, la Hollande fleurit, & la machine de la finance va ſ
la circulation & du credit qui opere ces effets ſalutaires. L'aiſanc
circulation, au pauvre & au mendiant de quoi payer une taxe à l'eta
comeſtible pour ſa ſubſiſtance.—Ces taxes revient preſque tous
ſortent. *Traité de Circulation.*

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I WISH, for the ſake of my honeſt countrymen, the labouring poor, and actual manufacturers of every denomination, that this reaſoning was as true as it is ſpecious: but the fallacy of it is proved, by daily and fatal experience, in all parts of this opulent kingdom. It is built on falſe principles; for I have already ſhewn, in the commercial part of this work, that the price of induſtry has not riſen, in proportion to the dearneſs of proviſions, and other neceſſaries of life, occaſioned by our inland taxes: neither has the rate of the market, nor the increaſe of demand, fixed the price of labour or workmanſhip, as Sir James Steuart aſſerts. This is the only material point, in which I have found that judicious writer miſtaken; and it is to be accounted for, from his long abſence, which prevented his having the opportunity of remarking a new combination of circumſtances ariſing out of this mode of taxation, which deſtroys the whole force of his arguments: and, as to Mr. Pinto, his error lies, in comparing the ſtate of inland trade, in countries whoſe laws, manners and commercial regulations, differ ſo widely, that it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh a theory for the one, which would be equally practicable and expedient in both.

IN Holland, the maſter manufacturer and his workmen approach much nearer to a ſtate of egality than in any other country. The principles of œconomy are more univerſal; and theſe uniting with rational ideas of civil liberty, put men more upon a level in this republic, than in any other part of Europe. Taxes upon conſumption are paid by a people ſo ſituated, without murmuring; becauſe every individual ſhares in common, and in a juſt proportion, the benefits of the adminiſtration of goverment, and is animated by the proſpect of enjoying its dignities.

BUT in England, the diſtance between the poor induſtrious workman, in almoſt every branch of art, and his lordly maſter, is as great as that between an Aſiatic prince, and his meaneſt ſubject: with this difference indeed---that the laws of England give him no power over the life, perſonal liberty, or property of his ſlave.

LET us reflect but a moment on the ſplendor and voluptuouſneſs in which our merchants, our factors, our proprietors of capital manufactories,

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factories, our wholesale, and most of our retail dealers, our polite and mechanic artists of any repute, our monopolizing farmers, *&c.* live at this very time; and then let us turn our thoughts to the sober, industrious, labouring poor, in the manufacturing towns at a great distance from the capital *. Here we shall find that the prices of their labour have not risen, either by the piece, or the day, or the week, in any proportion to the exorbitant advance on bread, meat, drink, cloaths and lodging. The increased demand for the consumption of our colonies, (and for other parts of the globe during the war, when we intercepted the commerce of other countries, and extended our own) may have quickened their industry, but it has not meliorated their condition; for the price of every article of subsistence has been enhanced to such a degree "as to make it difficult for any man to live without inde- "fatigable industry; and almost impossible for a man without property, "to subsist a large family at all."

An unfeeling negligence has enervated every spring of government; and one part of the people, are suffered to devour the other with impunity. In times of war---commissaries, agents and contractors, drain the Treasury of the fruits of their industry---and in times of peace, they are kept poor and needy by tyrant masters, and accursed monopolizers, of the necessaries of life---seven, or at most nine shillings *per* week, are thought sufficient to cloath the naked, and feed the hungry labourer or manufacturer, with a large indigent family; while pampered slaves in livery, and impudent waiting-maids, having no such incumbrances, are genteelly accommodated with board and lodging, and are allowed to raise their wages to extortion, at the very time, when provisions are raised on the families who maintain them.

The fact is, that inland duties on articles of universal consumption, are not drawn back by the industry of those who pay them, in England; therefore they are oppressive---but they are more than

* Workmen of every species, in and near the capital, being but too justly reputed idle, profligate and debauched, these are excepted; though the method of paying them at public houses is the chief cause.

doubly

doubly charged on the public by the maſter manufacturers, and tradeſmen of almoſt every claſs. Every new inland duty has been made a pretence for advancing the price of the commodity taxed, beyond all proportion to the duty itſelf; and in many articles, the quality has likewiſe been debaſed on the ſame fraudulent principles. Combine theſe two circumſtances, and I am afraid, you will be at the fountain head of the immenſe fortunes that have been made, of late years, in ſome branches of our manufactures and inland trade. I need not particularize; the reflection of every ſenſible man will furniſh him with many recent inſtances of the truth of theſe remarks.

It ſhould, therefore, have been the buſineſs, as it was the duty, of the managers of our public revenues, when they had reſolved to adopt this mode of taxation, to have guarded the public in the ſtrongeſt manner, againſt the frauds of trade; for as the matter now ſtands, our great manufacturers, warehouſe-men, factors and ſhop-keepers, have it in their power to exerciſe oppreſſions ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe of the farmers general in France, where the government impoſes a tax, and they collect double the amount from the people.

The evil I have now ſtated, ſeems cloſely attached to the very nature of exciſes; and the remedy, I confeſs, appears to me ſo difficult, that I muſt beg leave to give it as my humble opinion, that it is abſolutely concluſive againſt this mode of taxation. The remaining complaint is not ſo well founded; the mode of levying ſome of our exciſes is not ſo repugnant to our moſt enlarged ideas of civil liberty, as is pretended. If we are not fraudulently diſpoſed, we have nothing to fear. Of this kind are the exciſes on ſilver plate and coaches: and as to thoſe branches which empower the officers to viſit, they chiefly reſpect ſhop-keepers whoſe doors are open, who, from long habit, are accuſtomed to theſe viſitations, and find little or no inconvenience from them, if they have no frauds to conceal; and if any are committed, the offenders moſt certainly ought to be proſecuted at common law, and tried by juries. But if an annual compoſition was to be paid into the Exciſe-office, proportionate to the medium of the ſhop-keeper's conſumption, *communibus annis*, as it is practiſed in other countries, this

this great objection of viſitation, ſo far as it reſpects civil liberty, would be removed; and I have no doubt, but this method would be more productive---for the expence of a multitude of officers would be ſaved---and it is a true principle of finances, to collect the public revenues at the leaſt poſſible expence.

It would exceed the limits preſcribed to this work, if I was to enlarge on this head: and it is ſufficient for my purpoſe to have ſhewn that property is not followed; and a proportional contribution required on equitable principles by this mode of taxation. I ſhall therefore proceed to the laſt circumſtance, on the part of government; which occaſions popular diſcontents, and a general reluctance to pay all taxes.

It is, an improvident or diſhoneſt application of the produce of the taxes, after they are collected.

The complaints that have been juſtly made by the people on this head, for many years paſt, but more particularly during the laſt war, and at the concluſion of the peace, ought to have produced ſome good effect---ſome conſiderable reform in the adminiſtration of the public finances; inſtead of which, the ſame prodigality and miſapplication of them was continued; but I believe the preſent miniſter has not made any ſtriking addition to the liſt of penſions *. The inconſiderate, if not corrupt, diſſipation of the national treaſure during the laſt war, has been univerſally cenſured at home and abroad. Mr. Pinto, who, in every other inſtance, appears to be a zealous friend to the Britiſh government, aſcribes the enormous increaſe of our national debt to this cauſe. "The Engliſh," ſays this writer, "have very "little or no œconomy in their public expences in time of war; what "they might have accompliſhed for the leaſt, they have always "performed at the greateſt charges. I believe no one will deny, that

* Pensions are paid out of the civil-liſt revenue; that is to ſay, out of the king's perſonal income: but if by encreaſing the number and amount of them, this income is ſo diminiſhed, that the king cannot defray the expences it is charged with, he is obliged to aſk for an extraordinary aid, which is granted from the public revenue; and is ſo far a miſapplication of it, as thoſe penſions are unworthily, or laviſhly granted.

"with

" with a third part of their expences, they might have had the ſame " ſucceſſes: the immenſe and rapid fortunes made by their com- " miſſaries, contractors and agents, in Germany, exceed all that was " done formerly by the financiers in France. Waſte, robbery and " rapine, were, it is ſaid, carried to the greateſt exceſs. How, " otherwiſe, is it poſſible, that the annual expences of the nation, in " the laſt war, ſhould have amounted to three times as much as in the " war of 1744? I confeſs, that the enterprizes were more vigorous, " and the ſucceſſes more brilliant; but not in any degree portionable " to the difference of expence *."

It is now too late to lament paſt diſſipation; or it is to be feared, to puniſh paſt notorious offenders: but it is my duty to point out the method of proceeding in ſuch caſes, whenever any future miſapplication of the public happens, if the people have the ſpirit, and their repreſentatives the virtue, to call the delinquents to account: and it is no leſs the duty of the preſent, and of all future miniſters, to reſtore the ſtricteſt frugality and œconomy in the adminiſtration of the treaſury department, as the moſt eſſential means of continuing public credit on a ſure foundation, and of fixing a permanent value on the funds.

" Petitions are to be carried up to parliament by public bodies, " ſuch as corporations, complaining of known profuſion and ſuſpected " fraud in the adminiſtration of the revenues, and requeſting that the " Houſe of Commons would proceed to the uſual methods of taking, " examining and ſtating the public accounts of the nation." An act for this purpoſe, was paſſed in the firſt year of the reign of queen Ann, when the want of care and fidelity in the management of the public money was charged home on the Earl of Halifax, Auditor of the Exchequer; the Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaſter of the Army; and Jacob Vandereſche, Eſq. Paymaſter of the Dutch Forces: the two laſt, being members of the Houſe of Commons, were diſgracefully expelled, and

* Les fortunes immenſes & rapides que leurs entrepreneurs ont faites en allemagne, paſſent tout ce que les financiers faiſoient autrefois en France. Les gaſpillages, les brigandages et les rapins ont eté, a ce qu'on pretend, portés au comble.

Traité de la Circulation, p. 126.

proſecuted

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proſecuted for the ſums due to the Treaſury; but Lord Halifax was ſcreened by the Houſe of Lords. In the tenth year of the ſame reign, Robert Walpole, Eſq. was committed to the Tower, and expelled the Houſe of Commons, for receiving 1000£. on account of contracts for forage of the troops in Scotland, when he was Secretary at War. Adam Cardonell, Eſq. ſecretary to the Duke of Marlborough, underwent the ſame puniſhment, for taking an annual gratuity of five hundred gold ducats, from the contractors of bread and bread-waggons, for the ſervice of the army in the Low Countries.

In the twelfth year of the ſame reign, William Churchill, Eſq. a commiſſioner for ſick and wounded ſeamen, was convicted, by the Houſe of Commons, of having reſerved to himſelf half the profits to ariſe on ſome of the contracts made by that board; and Thomas, Earl of Wharton, of having received 1000£. to procure a place for a gentleman: each of which practices were, by a reſolution of the Houſe, declared to be an high breach of truſt, a ſcandalous corruption, and highly detrimental to the public. But as the crimes had been committed before the general act of indemnity paſſed in 1708, the Houſe could proceed no further.

After this, we hear no more of any acts of parliament for taking, ſtating and examining the public accounts of the kingdom; nor of any reports of committees expoſing defaulters to the public odium and contempt of the nation. The ſalutary meaſure of enquiring into the application of the public money was laid aſide; a total good underſtanding and harmony having ſubſiſted, during the ſucceeding reigns, between the managers of the Treaſury, and thoſe who at ſundry times were ſuſpected of having embezzled, or laviſhed very conſiderable ſums, to ſerve the corrupt purpoſes of influencing elections, and the conduct of members in the Houſe. In the preſent reign, complaints of this nature have been both loud and frequent; and to the honour of the late Mr. Grenville, be it remembered, that he actually began a ſtrict ſcrutiny into the validity of the demands, made by our cormorant commiſſaries, contractors and agents, whoſe accounts he curtailed, and thereby ſaved the nation ſome millions: his intention of reforming

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other abuſes in the treaſury department, particularly his enforcing the laws of trade againſt ſmugglers, contributed nearly as much as the fatal ſtamp-act to raiſe a general outcry againſt his adminiſtration, and to facilitate his diſmiſſion.

The city of London has ſince made an unſucceſsful attempt to obtain a ſatisfactory account of an immenſe ſum, alledged to have remained unaccounted for to the public, by Lord Holland; but on what foundation we cannot pretend to ſay, becauſe the queſtion has never come to a fair deciſion. But the uſe I intend to make of theſe examples, taken from the Hiſtory of England, ſince the Revolution, is, to ſhew that the ſecret murmurs and open complaints of the people will never ceaſe, nor will they ever pay their taxes chearfully, without fraud, till committees of the Houſe of Commons are appointed to examine the public accounts every two or three years in times of peace, and annually during a war---that miſapplications of the produce of their induſtry, may be reported---and the criminals, who live luxurioufly on their contributions, be brought to juſtice.

It is now time to obſerve, that if at any period the people are ſatisfied, that all the money levied on the community at large, is faithfully and frugally applied ſolely to public ſervices, and that the taxes are both eaſy and equitable, it muſt be want of reflection, if they do not pay them with a good grace; and ſcandalous diſhoneſty, if they diſcover an evil diſpoſition to defraud the public revenues, by ſmuggling: for they ſhould remember, that all the ſubjects are bound in one common bond to ſupport the civil government under the protection of which they enjoy ineſtimable rights and privileges; and that it is the indiſpenſible duty of every individual to contribute, in a due proportion, to the national expences: for, as an elegant Italian author obſerves, "Every individual, in paying taxes, depoſits a part of his "property in the public treaſury, in order to preſerve the remainder, "and to enjoy it ſecurely *."

* Il tributo adunque ſi è una portione delle proprietà, che ciaſcuno depone nell' erario publico, affine dè conſervare con ſicurezza la proprietà che gli rimane. *Meditazioni ſulla Economia Politica*, NAPOLI, 1771.

MUCH

MUCH has been written on the ſignal advantages of aboliſhing all taxes; and the nations where the leaſt impoſts are levied, paſs, with ſpeculative patriots, for the happieſt: but theſe viſionary ſentiments experience has refuted; and it has been proved, by the example of ſeveral modern commercial ſtates, that moderate taxes, judiciouſly laid, and the produce faithfully applied, promote circulation, encourage induſtry, and better the condition of the lower claſſes of the people. Since, therefore, our national expences will not admit of even a reduction of our taxes, without loſing ſight of the more beneficial plan of preventing new impoſts in future times of war, let us direct all our attention to the following objects.---

A GENERAL reform in the mode of levying ſome of our taxes, to render them more eaſy and equitable.

THE ſubſtitution of ſome new taxes, which I am to recommend, in the room of thoſe that are the moſt oppreſſive and burthenſome to the induſtrious poor.

AN inviolable application of the produce of the ſinking fund, during the peace, to the ſole purpoſe of raiſing a fund for the payment of the intereſt of future loans, without impoſing future taxes.

THE firſt tax I have to propoſe is, on menial ſervants of both ſexes, both natives and aliens.---I leave the ratio in this, and all other caſes, to the diſcretion of the managers of our revenue affairs; and ſhall only refer them, and the public, to Mr. Pinto's propoſal on the ſame ſubject, publiſhed ſince I delivered mine in my lectures *.---If this tax,

* IL y a un impôt plus juſte qu'aucun autre, dont l'Angleterre pourroit faire uſage, & qui ſeroit d'une grande utilité pour le royaume. C'eſt une taxe ſur chaque domeſtique à l'inſtar de la Hollande. Le luxe exceſſif qui multiplie le nombre des domeſtiques oiſiſs, fainéans & inutiles, eſt préjudiciable à tout le corps de l'etat. C'eſt une armée inſolente, qui fait continuellement la guerre à la vertu & aux mœurs; les domeſtiques ſont les inſtrumens & les fauteurs du vice, du libertinage & de la débauche; c'eſt un tas d'inutiles enlevés à la culture des terres, aux manufactures, à la marine, & au militaire. Or donc ceux qui par faſte, oſtentation & vanité, veulent nourrir & habiller ces déſerteurs de l'ordre, doivent dédommager l'etat de cette perte par un eſpece d'équivalent. Je voudrois donc que ceux qui n'auroient que deux ou trois domeſtiques, ce qui eſt honnête & néceſſarie, ne payaſſent que dix ſchellings par tête; mais ceux qui en auroient quatre, payeroient une livre ſterling par tête; ceux qui en auroient cinq, deux livres ſterling par tête; ceux qui

and ſome of thoſe ſubjoined, are not quite ſo productive as a ſanguine miniſter might expect, let it be remembered, that they will act at leaſt as ſumptuary laws, at a time when luxury is carried to an exceſs that renders it baneful to commerce; and in a country where the latitude of civil liberty prevents ſumptuary laws, becauſe they are reſtraints on the ſubjects.

THIS tax alone might ſend back 20,000 idle hands, the pageants of pride, and votaries of gluttony, to arts, manufactures and trade, in the country, from the metropolis alone.

THE ingenious Dr. Price informs us, that of every 1000 inhabitants who die in London, 250 are ſettlers, who come to it after eighteen or twenty years of age: and from my own enquiries, I am certain, the remote counties of England and Scotland have poured in ſuch ſwarms of their natives to this metropolis, that both maſters and ſervants in every art, trade and profeſſion, are chiefly aliens; and in the city they are made denizens by purchaſe---a ſhameful corruption in the corporation, which government ſhould eradicate!

A TAX on all provincial emigrants, on the weekly importation of raw Scotch lads, and all other foreign ſettlers in London, would be equitable with reſpect to the natives of the capital; it would be proportional to the benefits derived from carrying on buſineſs as maſters, or receiving wages as clerks, &c. in this great market, in preference to their reſiding in the reſpective places of their nativity; and it might be political, by preventing thoſe continual emigrations which depopulate the country.

FOR the ſame reaſons, a tax ſhould be laid on horſes, or on all machines, ſtages and poſt-chaiſes, (not kept by the poſt-maſters) which facilitate the tranſport of people to the capital.

en auroient ſix, trois livres ſterling; & ainſi de ſuite, doubler toujours la taxe ſur chaque individu qui excede le nombre donné. Il réſulteroit de grands avantages de la création de cette taxe. Les grands, les gens tres riches augmenteroient conſidérablement le revenu du fiſc, qui recevroit des ſommes immenſes des mains de Plutus, de l'orgueil, & de la vanité. C'eſt puiſer dans la véritable ſource des impôts; les ordres ſubalternes feroient des réflexions, reviendroient de la folie de multiplier des ennemis domeſtiques, & rendroient à l'etat un grand nombre de ſujets, que la néceſſité emploieroit plus utilement, ſoit dans l'agriculture, ſoit dans l'induſtre. Cet impôt devroit auſſi être conſacré inviolablement au *ſinking fond*.

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A TAX on celibacy has been frequently recommended; both Mr. Pinto and Dr. Price enforce it: and indeed, such a tax would be peculiarly equitable and expedient in this country, in which all the hardships, through principles of false policy, fall on married people. The batchelor, in his lodgings, pays neither national nor parochial taxes; the little he contributes to the state, by the articles of consumption he purchases, is hardly worth mentioning: neither are his pleasures taxed; and the difference between such a situation, and that of a married man, is so striking, that matrimony is more and more avoided---the consequence is depopulation *. Yet taxation ought to follow unencumbered property, and to augment its demands on luxury. This leads me to another hint.

WHY should personal stock in trade be taxed in the present defective, partial, inadequate mode, annexed to the land-tax; and stock, or property in household furniture, amounting to thousands, remain exempt? Here a resolute, able minister, has a fine field for improving the revenue, and acquiring popularity.

LET a pound rate be laid on all household furniture exceeding fifty pounds value, on the oath of the possessor---by this tax alone, more than sufficient might be raised to extinguish one of those now subsisting on the necessaries of life---either that on soap, candles, leather, or salt. Like the coach-tax, it would chiefly affect the rich; and it would likewise check the extreme progress of luxury.

A TAX on collateral successions, to personal estates, not subject to the land-tax, is recommended by Mr. Pinto, as it subsists in Holland. These successions being very often as unexpected as great prizes in a lottery, it should seem, that the state might avail itself of so fair an opportunity to demand the contribution of a part for the preservation of the whole, at the instant when the balance of wealth is turning in

* THIS is a fatal competition, by which a door is opened to great distress.—Either the unmarried gain what the married should, and become extravagant; or the married gain no more than the unmarried can do, and having many mouths to feed, with only two hands to supply the necessaries, become miserable.

Sir James Stuart's Political Oeconomy, vol. ii. p. 505.

favour

favour of the contributor. But this is an uncertain resource, which we ought not to attempt, unless it be to enable us to exonerate the people of an oppressive tax.

I MUST here repeat, a maxim of the first importance.---It should be the chief object of the managers of the public revenues in this kingdom, to keep up the price of the funds at market, and to hinder all unnatural fluctuations in them, so that they may circulate freely, as near the par of the money advanced to government by the original subscribers (the douceurs excepted) as possible.

WE have seen, that the arts of stock-jobbing frustrate this laudable plan: I shall therefore throw out an improvable hint---for counterbalancing the tricks of the alley; and I hope it may be considered as a proper succedaneous expedient, if, as it is generally believed, we cannot absolutely undermine JONATHAN'S, without running the risk of blowing up PUBLIC CREDIT.

LET an act of parliament be made to legalize all time-bargains; and to make the debts arising from differences on these transactions valid, so that they may be recoverable at common law.

THEN, as a variety of frauds have happened from the irregular manner of keeping the accounts of such contracts, in the brokers pitiful memorandum books; let it be enacted, that all persons, whether brokers or otherwise, entering into contracts for buying or selling any share in the funds for any future time, exceeding the next transfer day of such funds, after the date of their contract, shall be obliged to deliver to each other reciprocally a specification, under their hands, of the said contract, on a stamped paper, under a penalty, *&c.*---The price of the duplicate stamp should be proportioned to the sum contracted for---suppose an eighth *per cent*, the same as brokerage---but this, as I said before, I leave to the discretion of my superiors.

AWARE of the outcry that will be raised against me, it remains only, that I offer to the candid and disinterested part of mankind a short vindication of my scheme.

IT will nearly, if not entirely, annihilate the most pernicious class of jobbers---those who go into the alley without any capital, and against whom

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whom the monied jobbers play at double hazard. The dread of impriſonment for inſolvency on a large difference, will deter them at leaſt from deep ventures, and diminiſh the fabrication of falſe news to ſerve ſiniſter deſigns.

No reſtraint will be laid on the circulation of the funds, by thoſe who really have property veſted in them. An exemption for holidays, and the ſhutting of the books being allowed, in the clauſe relative to the next transfer day.---And, as to our friends on the other ſide the water, ſince it is acknowledged by MR. PINTO, that they make large profits (more than common intereſt) by their time-bargains in our funds; why ſhould not they pay---pardon the familiar phraſe---for ſeats at the gaming-table? Can any reaſon be aſſigned why policies of inſurance ſhould be ſubject to a ſtamp duty, and the ſpeculative, fictitious dealings in the government funds, remain free? The former are legal, commercial tranſactions; the latter, detrimental ſuperſtructures, upon foundations belonging to our neighbours. Beſides, the public at large contribute, by the taxes, to the expences of the management of the funds at the Bank, *&c.*---an annual heavy charge! ---On what pretence then ſhall thoſe who are not the creditors of the public, derive a ſingular advantage from the national aids, without contributing to them?---And ſurely to game on the baſis of other men's property, and thereby to affect the value of it, is, indeed, a very ſingular, a very ſtrange advantage!

SUCH a tax, ſhould it be eſtabliſhed, I am fully convinced will prevent all artificial fluctations in the funds in times of peace:---it will limit them in times of war---it will be eaſy, equitable, and productive.

BUT to this, and all other hints for meliorating the public revenue, the dread of innovation will probably be a temporary, if not a total barrier; unleſs the miniſter preſiding at the Treaſury poſſeſſes the ſame fortitude and abilities as SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, who boldly ſtemmed the torrent of popular abuſe, and ventured to alienate the ſinking fund, a few years after its eſtabliſhment; at a time too, when the whole kingdom was delirious with the ideas of its ineſtimable benefits.---I have ſhewn him the road to laudable fame, and general eſteem;

eſteem; it is in his option to purſue the journey, or to decline it: of one thing, I am certain---that he, who firſt relieves the lower claſſes of the people, by improving the public revenues, ſo as, by ſubſtitution of others, to take off the burthenſome taxes on the neceſſaries of life, may, with ſuch ſalutary alterations, ſafely continue the amount of the preſent taxes (which at any rate he cannot leſſen) for fifty years to come; may provide a fund, which will empower him to declare, that no additional income by taxation will hereafter be required, even in times of war; and will then be juſtly deemed the ſincereſt, the greateſt patriot of the age.

THE taſk I had aſſigned myſelf is now completed; and I hope the end I chiefly had in view, by the publication of the three treatiſes in one compact volume, will be fully anſwered. It is my ambition to place my name in the records of poſterity, as the author of a valuable ſupplement to the education of Britiſh youth, after they quit the public ſeminaries, where claſſical learning is their chief object.

THE award of my judicious countrymen will determine my claim to that honour; and either encourage me to future ſervices of the ſame kind, or put an eternal arreſt on my pen.

FINIS.

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THE Author of this Work reſides at a ſmall diſtance from London; *and receives into his houſe to the number of Ten Young Gentlemen of Fortune, above the Age of Fourteen, to inſtruct them in Elocution, and the other branches of learning, mentioned in the note to page* 216.

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